1 ● JANUARY 12, 1987 A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS ISSN 0206-1473

NEW TIMES

FROM THE YEAR OF PEACE TO A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
JAN 21 1987
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

1917–1987

The first page of the photographic chronicle of Soviet power. Seventy years of struggles and victories, joys and sorrows, recorded by the camera lens, will pass before you in this jubilee year.

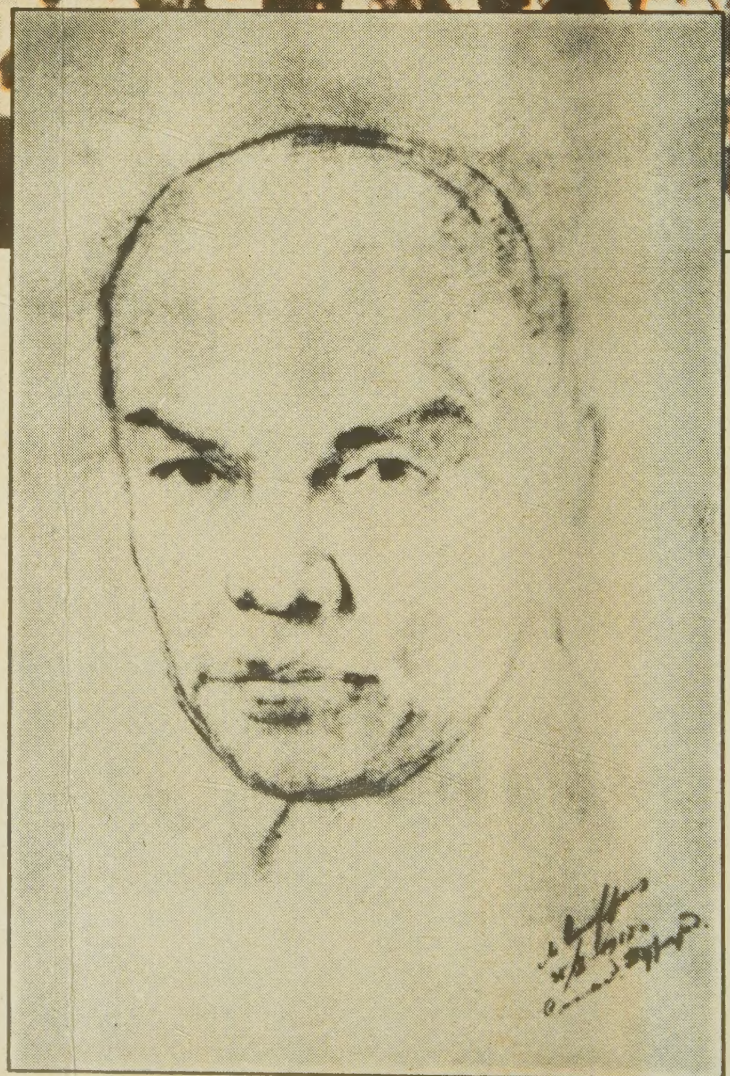
It begins on October 25 (November 7), 1917. The details of that unforgettable day are imprinted in the memory of eyewitnesses and reflected in documents. There are no film documentaries. A still from Eisenstein's picture "October" depicting the storming of the Winter Palace is reproduced here.

Here is a unique portrait of Lenin as he appeared on that historic night, when he arrived illegally at the Smolny, after making his way through the storm-tossed city.

By 10 a.m. on October 25 his famous appeal "To the Citizens of Russia!" was ready. And at 10.40 p.m., one hour after the volley fired from the Aurora signalled the beginning of the storming of the Winter Palace he opened the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Thunderous applause shook the Smolny when the Bolsheviks read out Lenin's revolutionary appeal—immediate peace, land to the peasants, the right of nations to self-determination. Lenin's Decree on Peace was adopted.

The stenographic record of that memorable episode recaptures those stirring moments when the delegates rose to their feet to sing the revolutionary dirge in memory of those who fell in the battle for freedom. . . .

A new social system had emerged on the world arena—socialism.



A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

1

January 12,
1987
Founded 1943

11
REFLECTIONS
Valentin Falin on a nuclear-free world

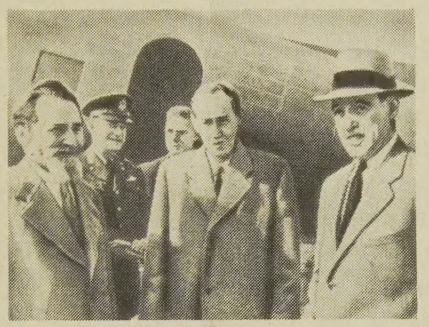
18
CUBA TODAY
Achievements, problems, looking for solutions

26
LITTLE-KNOWN DOCUMENTS
about the rise of the anti-Hitler coalition

32
TO SERVE THE MUSES
not try to command them—that is the credo of Poland's Minister for Culture and the Arts, Aleksander Krawczuk

34
WALL STREET SCANDAL

44
THE CHINESE CINEMA
Interviewing film director Zheng Dongtian



CONTENTS

3
The paramount topic: a nuclear-free world

20
World economy, 1986. The socialist countries

22
The Italian political scene

37
Visit to Australia

38
Post-martial-law Bangladesh

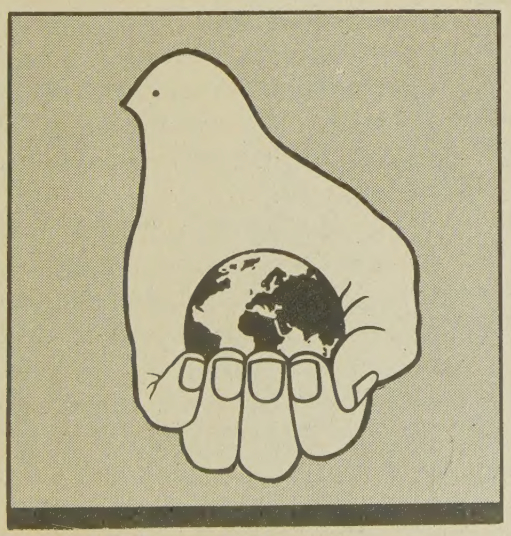
40
The bantustans

42
A forgotten corner of Japan

48
Igor Paklin, the world's best high-jumper

THE EDITOR'S PAGE (2), PANORAMA (13), SCIENCE. TECHNOLOGY (24), TAKING UP A POINT (47).

COVER by I. Smirnov



A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD. IS IT POSSIBLE!

The editor's page
Opinion poll
Polemics
The policy of nuclear testing
Reflections

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief:
V. IGNATENKO
Associate-Editors:
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
Y. GUDKOV,
A. LEBEDEV,
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
V. TSOPPI
Editor of English Edition:
E. Smirnov

FROM OUR MAILBAG

The great French thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed that civilization tends to alienate man from Nature. Today Rousseau's pessimism is being confirmed anew. The increasing amount of various conveniences afforded by technological progress pampers people and fosters a consumer mentality. I know that the U.S.S.R., the country that has proclaimed the principle of peaceful coexistence, is bound to outstrip capitalism in economic efficiency. Progress, of course, is necessary, but in scaling ever new technological summits we must also give thought to preventing man from losing his spiritual wealth.

Enrico ZANNI
Modena, Italy

I read your article "Albania Today" (No. 44, 1986) with great interest because I carefully follow all that takes place in that country. True, your article did not tell me how Albania came to be isolated from the rest of the world. It would be a good thing if New Times would write more frequently about such interesting countries and what is happening there today.

Stefan FRANKE
Neuruppin, G.D.R.

Thanks for your articles about modern jazz groups. I am glad to see you have changed your opinion about the place of rock music in modern life. I hope, however, that in your future publications you will give less space to the history of one or another rock group and more to reviewing new music trends, their political platforms and giving an assessment of these groups from the standpoint of their social significance.

V. KOVALEV
Vitebsk Region, U.S.S.R.

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

JANUARY 15

On that day a year ago Mikhail Gorbachev came out with a programme for nuclear disarmament till the end of the century—a historic event.

Human civilization is millennia old. Is it eternal or finite? There is no point seeking the answer in horoscopes. The answer depends on us, on how well we appreciate our common origins and our common destiny. The world's nations have had different histories but the future they face is the same for all of them.

Our atomic and space age has thrown the global interdependence of nations into bold relief. This age witnesses the unprecedentedly dramatic clash of two policies—the policy of reason and the policy of strength. The latter must not be allowed to gain the upper hand. There are many unsolved problems and issues that are difficult of solution. It is possible to live with differences, but trying to settle them by means of nuclear or space weapons amounts to suicide.

There are fourteen years to go before this century is out. These years could go down in history as the period that brought mankind deliverance from the threat and fear of nuclear war. There is a chance of entering the next millennium nuclear-free.

How are we to make this chance a reality? The proposals made on January 15 last year show the way, stage by stage. They are far-reaching, radical and realistic.

A start in this direction must be made without delay. Reykjavik could have been the point of departure, if Washington had not backed out. The Western leaders' professed commitment to the ideal of a nuclear-free world has given way, alas, to their dismissal of this ideal as utopian and illusory.

Is a nuclear-free world possible —or is it not?

On what principles should international order rest?

How are international political and ideological differences to be confined to civilized limits?

Where is the line of distinction between nuclear "deterrence" and the nuclear precipice? Is it possible to break the vicious circle of the all-out arms race and nip new and still deadlier weapons in the bud? Your opinion on this score will be most welcome.

The Editors have asked prominent statesmen, scientists, peace movement leaders, public figures and artists from all continents to share their views on the prospects for a non-nuclear world and what it takes to ensure international stability.

In this issue we start a new column, Opinion Poll, intended as a rostrum for the discussion of current world problems from different angles.

We believe such a discussion to be necessary. It is bound to broaden the international dialogue on the vital issue of how to make our planet truly safe. A policy projected into the future calls for honesty, bold thinking and optimism.

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Miklos Ovari:
THAT IS THE WORLD WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

Miklos Ovari is a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

For centuries armed force was the natural arbiter in interstate disputes: it determined frontiers, social formations and even the existence of entire historical systems—colonialism, for example. But it is not the 16th, but the 20th century that is now ending. And the 20th century has been marked by the unprecedented advance of technology which has brought man's capabilities (particularly as regards the development of weaponry) to the critical point beyond which, apparently, the power of reason ends. How and for what purposes will we use this technical and technological explosion, will this situation serve to accelerate and intensify the arms race or will mankind be able to use the powerful potential released for the solution of its urgent tasks?

Ask any Communist—Hungarian, Soviet or any other—whether a nuclear-free world is conceivable. There will be only one answer: that is precisely the kind of world we are fighting for. And we shall exert every effort to ensure that the world is really free from nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately, there exist different views on this question. NATO, judging by the decisions recently adopted, proceeds from the assumption that security lies in nuclear missile potential. But such reasoning is built on obsolete views and runs counter to the realities of our time, to plain common sense. True, there is by no means as much unanimity in NATO on this subject as it would have the public believe. In my opinion, the West European countries have their own specific interests to think of. Clearly the U.S. wants to retain its dominance of NATO, leaving Europe the role of handmaid. Today some West European governments are supporting Washington's resistance to nuclear disarmament. But there are serious differences among the allies, primarily in the economic sphere where this factor—expenditure on armaments—is decisive. To my mind, the West European countries are pursuing a more sensible policy than the United States. They are more receptive to new ideas and are more keenly aware of the dangerous role allotted the European continent in the strategic plans of the overseas politicians.

What is needed in the modern world of rapid scientific and technological progress is new thinking that would allow of a new, sober, realistic approach to these problems. More weapons does not mean more security. Rather the reverse. And the present political struggle is a struggle aimed at the assertion of the idea of new political thinking. I believe that this idea will win through. With difficulty, but it will. Because it accords with the laws of the social development of our world. On the threshold of the New Year I believe in this. It is impossible, of course, to predict when and at the cost of how much effort we shall come to a world free of nuclear weapons. But if mankind wants to survive, it will have to get there. ■

Bernt Carlsson:
WHILE FALLING FROM A SKYSCRAPER...

Bernt Carlsson is a prominent Swedish political figure. He was secretary of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden for international affairs and later, for eight years, General Secretary of the Socialist International. More recently he has been Swedish Secretary of State for Nordic cooperation. In mid-December the United Nations General Assembly appointed Bernt Carlsson U.N. Commissioner for Namibia.

The word "weapon" has probably existed in the human language for thousands of years. In the stone age the weapons were stones and slings. Years and centuries went by and, with the development of science and technology, weapons were perfected and became ever more effective. In our time huge quantities of arms, and particularly nuclear, have been accumulated.

In my opinion these cannot be called weapons in the ordinary sense. They are immeasurably more monstrous, something for which there is no adequate description.

Forty years ago, when nuclear energy war first used to destroy human life, an entirely new historical and political situation emerged in the world. Since then the world has been living in the shadow of the "balance of fear," strategies of "deterrence" and "mutually assured annihilation." Mankind lives alongside a terrible plague. As time goes on people seem not to notice it, they grow accustomed to it, and so it

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

proceeds in hidden form. But that does not make it any the less dangerous. Were this plague to take a more virulent form in our time, the saga of humanity would be ended.

The consequences of the use of nuclear weapons defy the imagination. Although mathematical models of such an eventuality do exist, no one knows exactly what would happen. All that is clear is that if such a war came to pass, time itself would stop. He who would risk unleashing nuclear war would be dooming his own future.

Many say that the strategy of "deterrence" in the atomic age has helped to preserve peace for four decades now. But the "balance of terror," the level of which is constantly rising, is costing mankind colossal effort. And the degree of risk increases simultaneously. Thus, people who rely on "deterrence" remind me of a man falling from a skyscraper who, as he passes the 25th storey, consoles himself with the thought that so far everything is okey. You cannot be sure you are on the right road unless you can see where you are going.

Of course, no sensible person wants a nuclear war. Opinions differ as to how it can be averted. West European politicians—primarily the conservatives and centrists—see "deterrence" as the guarantee of peace and stability. Others —and they are not few in number—believe that stability can be ensured in several ways: for instance, by improving the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow, by establishing centres for the prevention of nuclear war. Unquestionably, these measures are not bad in themselves.

However, "deterrence" is not a stable system. With the progress of technology, computers are beginning to play an ever greater role in armaments. Moreover, the possibility of fatal errors likewise increases. Say, for instance, a situation when a computer signals a nuclear attack and there is no time left to verify whether the signal is correct or not.

The "deterrence" strategy is, therefore, fallacious. There can only be one conclusion: what is needed is a new, I would say, revolutionary decision to scrap all nuclear weapons. Moreover, at once, immediately, without waiting for the end of the century. The question is far too serious to permit of any delay. It is a crime to waste time and energy ascertaining where we took a false step and lost our way in the nuclear labyrinth. It is essential urgently to find a way out of the labyrinth.

A political solution is needed here. In this sense the two Soviet-American summits in Geneva and Reykjavik were a sign of great progress. After all, in the autumn of 1985 both sides agreed that a nuclear war could not be won, that there would be no victors in such a war. In October 1986 they took another step forward by sharing the view that nuclear weapons should be scrapped, and even set a date—10 years. Reykjavik was important because an agreement in principle was reached and a definite time limit set.

I assume that the leaders of both countries realize the responsibility that rests on them and the power invested in them. After all, in becoming the heads of their states at such a difficult time they have, so to speak, inherited the fruits of a definite period in historical development.

In any case, the Soviet Union and the United States must find a compromise. At Reykjavik the Soviet Union laid the groundwork for such a compromise by discussing the SDI problem and agreeing to research on that programme but within laboratory limits. Everything must be done to build on and add to what was achieved at Reykjavik.

At the same time, the first step—to reduce arsenals by half—is psychologically and politically important, although of course from the military and technical standpoint it is not easy. Nevertheless this must be done as soon as possible. ■

Alberto Sordi:
TO LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY

Alberto Sordi is a popular Italian film actor and director.

I see a nuclear-free world populated in the main by serious, happy people living in peace and harmony, all of us—"ordinary mortals" and politicians alike—shaping humanity's future. It will be easier to breathe in a nuclear-free world. Man will again appreciate and treasure nature's gifts. He will learn to use the earth's resources rationally and be able to give the needy what they require.

Do I believe in that possibility?

The U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong, the first man to set foot on the Moon, once said that if people could imagine how frail and defenceless the earth looks from outer space they would not attempt to resolve problems by force of arms. I believe that people will come to recognize the truth of this far from simple observation. They will create the conditions that make war impossible. One fine day we shall hear of a global agreement between the earth's states, recording that all without exception wish to live in peace and that nobody will renege on this accord for the sake of profit, wealth or death.

Though I am no longer young, I feel young and brimming with ideas. Perhaps this is because I rejoice at anything that is good in life, and, while ridiculing human vices, never cease to feel affection for people, who are the sole masters of their fate. ■

Kharkhuugyn Gaadan:
PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE

The Most Venerable Khambo Lama Kharkhuugyn Gaadan, spiritual leader of Mongolia's Buddhists, is President of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, which unites twelve national Buddhist organizations.

In keeping with Buddha's teaching, we all utter daily prayers in the hope of the coming of universal peace on earth, and everyone of us does everything in his power to attain that sacred goal.

The deliverance of the earth from nuclear arms and all types of weapons of mass destruction represents a move towards universal peace. The stability of the world community cannot rest either on force of arms or the fear of mutual destruction. On the contrary, the outlawing and abolition of nuclear weapons will banish mutual mistrust and suspicion, and pave the way for better relations between nations and a healthier international climate.

As I see it, a world without nuclear

weapons is not illusory, but a realistic and attainable goal that should be tirelessly sought. On October 17, 1986, on the initiative of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, a prayer dedicated to the Year of Peace and the movement for world without weapons was uttered at 11 a.m., Delhi time, in all countries where there are practising Buddhists.

I believe deliverance from nuclear weapons will be brought nearer by consolidating stability in various regions of the world. We Mongolians regard the maintenance of security in Asia as being of prime importance. We greatly appreciate the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech. Consonant with them is the initiative advanced by the Mongolian People's Republic to create the machinery that would rule out the use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific states.

We plan to arrange for Buddhists to meet to discuss ways and means of achieving security in the Asian-Pacific region and creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. ■

Vinod Bhatia:
LACK OF SECURITY IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AGE

Vinod Bhatia is a professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University School of International Studies in Delhi, India.

We are living in a world threatened by nuclear holocaust. The preservation of peace is the foremost priority, the imperative of all our actions. Yet development is also a matter of life and death, especially for the former colonies and semicolonies. Disarmament represents the only way of ensuring both the preservation of peace and the possibility of development.

The threat to peace today derives from the likelihood of nuclear disaster, and the arms race is the main obstacle to development. India and the U.S.S.R. share the common conviction that it is vital to banish the threat of war and facilitate development.

The issue of the relationship between disarmament and development was posed by the developing countries in the U.N. as early as 1950. The Soviet Union took the first practical step to resolve the issue by urging the other great powers to cut military budgets by 10 per cent and use the money thus released for development needs. The Western response was invariably negative. On the contrary, the West not only continued to arm itself to the teeth, but also imposed the arms race on the developing countries in order to guarantee its foreign policy interests.

United States history since the end of the war is a provocative parody filled with claims to be defending peace, democracy and freedom on earth. Even the old colonialist powers cannot compare with the United States in generating the danger of anarchy throughout the world. For its anti-communist purposes, the U.S. is attempting to retard humanity's natural evolution. Washington is escalating tension throughout the world.

The Soviet Union has put forward a complete range of initiatives and concrete proposals that seek to curb the arms race, reduce tension and resolve conflict situations in the Persian Gulf, around Afghanistan, in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. However, the other side's service record is empty. Even such concrete unilateral Soviet actions as the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and the prolonged 18-month moratorium on nuclear explosions have not been emulated by the United States and have remained unanswered.

Such is the experience of Soviet relationships with the West in the area of disarmament. Without fear of exaggeration, I will say that the experience of the Third World as regards development is still worse. The West does not recognize the interconnection between disarmament and development. It does not recognize the need to restructure the international pattern of economic relationships and refuses to revise the unequal conditions that exist for trade. Instead it offers loans on conditions that serve to shackle the developing countries.

In the same way as the tycoons of the German war industry nurtured nazi ambitions, so today the U.S. military-industrial complex is responsible for the arms race, especially, in nuclear weaponry. The mentality has not changed.

Truly, lack of security is the characteristic of the age. It is apparent in every sphere—military, political, economic and cultural. It is high time we took a fresh look at the problem and framed an all-embracing system of security for mankind. The nuclear age rejects the traditional concepts of security, as nuclear weapons cannot be used without entailing global disaster. The world should therefore seek military security on another basis. The Soviet programme for the phased and complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the century and the maintenance of military security at a lower level of armaments represents a move of paramount importance in this direction.

The essence of the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent

Padam Chaudhary, 24, a graduate of Agra University, India, sent us this drawing. "The thought of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the destruction it caused evokes fear in people all over the world, and the nuclear weapons have also made the modern age an age of anxiety," he wrote us. "This drawing was inspired by the Indian legend, about how the earth rose up from the ocean. I want in this way to express my conviction that atomic energy should be used to make man's life better, not to kill him."

CAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS BE ELIMINATED?

Like Abolishing Sin...

KARL KAISER (F.R.G.)

On December 9 the West German newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung featured an article by Prof. Karl Kaiser entitled "Is a World Without Nuclear Arms Possible!", in which he suggests that renouncing nuclear weapons is like "demanding the abolition of sin." He writes:

"Can we dispense with nuclear weapons? Hopes of achieving that are as old as the knowledge of these weapons' appalling destructive power. However, today, some 40 years after the first nuclear explosion, we have a complex cluster of armouries, doctrines, political structures and allied commitments. The nuclear deterrent is now a vital element in the structure of the postwar world. It is precisely its extraordinary destructive might that has made its use almost unthinkable, amplifying the price of war to a scale where its function as an implement of policy is perceived in a totally new light. In the pre-nuclear age aggression could bring victory, and defence could repulse attack. In the nu-

The Sin Is the Militarized Mentality

KAREN KARAGEZYAN

A word about the background.

Since the Reykjavik summit, the reality and attainability in practice of complete nuclear disarmament has been obvious. After all, the two sides were almost on the brink of signing the relevant agreements. Hope surged in most hearts. But some panicked. Confusing events, rearranging facts, contradicting both each other and themselves, various U.S. officials rushed to sound off about what had happened and had not happened at Reykjavik. All that Reagan had said about nuclear disarmament was queried, modified or simply confounded. A special formula was even evolved whereby anything the President says on arms control need not necessarily be a complete and definitive exposition of the relevant U.S. stand. Den Hovard of the White House press service intimated that in the future any official statements by the head of state could be withdrawn as if it were all child's play.

Richard Perle, assistant secretary of defence for international security policy, stressed that "the United States could never totally abandon nuclear weapons".

Could Washington's West European allies have taken a different view? According to the British Guardian, West European governments share to some extent the fears of the military as to the consequences of the far-reaching curbs on nuclear weapons discussed at Reykjavik.

So, to sum up: how far is the present generation of political leaders shaping the Western stance prepared to go along with disarmament?

The pro-nuclear stand of the military-industrial complex needs to be shored up with substantial arguments. And Prof. Karl Kaiser has responded in his own way to this social obligation.

He would appear to have set himself two basic objectives: one is to discredit the Soviet Union and demonstrate that the abolition of nuclear weapons is harmful, dangerous and impossible. The other is to play up the enfeebled myth of the "Soviet threat." As this is far from easy (it is impossible to derive conclusive arguments from the evidence alone), we are thus furnished with half-truths, "conjectures," inventions, and bald allegations, coupled with an attempt to play down some facts and reshuffle others—in short, the whole traditional package. The U.S.S.R. may back down at any moment it thinks fit, or place "various obstacles" in the way of negotiation. Such is Prof. Kaiser's first thesis. It is quite unfounded.

Even after Reykjavik, the U.S.S.R. repeatedly reaffirmed at the highest level that the Soviet proposals, which together make up an integrated package of compromises, reciprocal concessions and mutually balanced interests, remain valid. It was not the U.S.S.R. but the U.S. that stonewalled accords in the Icelandic capital and afterwards feverishly started "taking back" its own offers one after the other.

Surely it is not the Soviet Union that is to blame for the fact that certain West European NATO members, who for

world found expression in the Delhi declaration, which the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi drafted and signed at the close of November. I regard it as a programme for action which should motivate all who yearn to safeguard the earth from nuclear disaster. Who could object to that?

In the past, the establishment of military alliances and bases far from one's borders was justified by the need to arrange for defence against a potential aggressor. The limited nature of weapons and possibilities for their transportation provided a reason for this. However, these limitations vanished when intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons appeared on the scene. How then can one explain the fact that the imperialist powers continue to adhere to the strategy of establishing military alliances and advanced bases? I see only one explanation: to create auspicious conditions for exploiting Third World countries.

In the pre-nuclear age, it was argued that to guarantee its security a state must in wartime have assured access to sources of food and strategic raw materials. Today this argument is invalid, as a nuclear war cannot be a lengthy one.

Why then do we so often hear of the United States' "vital interests" in the Third World? Imperialism seeks to maintain its position there in order to achieve global hegemony.

By linking imperialist strategy to the "danger of the spread of communism" and the "Soviet threat," the West originally sought to win over minds in the developing countries in its struggle against the socialist world. Meanwhile, it intensively exported its own system

clear age the price of aggression is unacceptably high, and national security rests upon this. It remains as true today as previously that East and West are largely indebted for the 40 years of peace since the second world war to the caution the nuclear factor induces.... The most extensive conflict in the history of mankind—that between East and West—would very probably come to the use of force the moment the nuclear deterrent was gone. The nuclear deterrent could be discarded only in the event of there being no conflict between East and West, and there will be little that is conducive to this in the foreseeable future." ■

years on end have argued in favour of the advantages of the "zero option" on intermediate-range missiles, now shy from it as from a scarecrow. Is this only because this time the proposal is a Soviet one? Where then is elementary decency? And what price Kaiser's allegation that "in Western democracy such promises are effective and binding?"

Kaiser attributes the initial idea of delivering the world from nuclear weapons to President Reagan. Has it simply slipped his memory that the U.S.S.R. first advocated a total ban when the nuclear age was still in its infancy?

Incidentally, there would be no point in discussing who was first to put forward the idea, were the U.S. Administration to uphold it in fact and not merely in words. However, the curious thing is that some think even verbal "disarmament" dangerous.

Although it is common knowledge that the U.S. President has directly linked the urge for a denuclearized world with the Strategic Defence Initiative, which only whips up the nuclear arms race, Kaiser suggests that renouncing nuclear weapons is like demanding "the abolition of sin."

One thesis clings to another, until our author reaches the climax of his argument, that as soon as nuclear weapons are abolished, the conflict between East and West will immediately "come to the use of force," meaning that war will break out. As we see, he is quite untroubled by the growing threat of nuclear disaster. What worries him is that if nuclear bombs are jettisoned, tragedy is presumed to be inevitable.

This is a reflection of the whole distorted logic of the militarized mentality. Only recently one pathetic example of this mentality was the thesis that the road to disarmament lies through the buildup of arms. This has now been taken a step further. Attempts are being made to impress upon people that their dream of abolishing nuclear weapons is absurd, that the atom bomb is their only salvation, while without it deadly danger lurks.

To reinforce his point, Kaiser goes all the way. He constantly invokes the issue of control, each time hinting that the Russians are not to be trusted. The West, of course, is another matter, because "here we have the self-control of democratic systems while there [in the U.S.S.R.—K.K.] deception is possible."

Kaiser does not cite any instance of deception by the U.S.S.R., which he describes as an "undemocratic system," because there is nothing to take issue with. There are other instances, such as "Irangate," in the course of which the U.S. Administration deceived and continues to deceive its own people, including Congressmen, its allies and the international public. There is also the "Flick swindle," in which almost all the F.R.G.'s leading statesmen are involved. Now these same people cannot extricate themselves from the scandalous sale of submarine blueprints to South Africa. These are more than rows. They exemplify a secret diplomacy against their own people, and the peoples of the world. For this reason, the thesis about "the self-control of democratic systems" is none too convincing.

Kaiser has made an astonishing discovery. Genuine control, we learn, is unthinkable in the context of "fundamentally different political systems of government," in plain words, given the existence of states with different social systems. Is there a way out? There is, we learn. Effective verification can be reached, according to Kaiser, by "abolishing the existing inequality." How? It is all very simple. What is needed is for the two disarming sides to be "open pluralist democracies." Discarding the linguistic husk, we see that what Prof. Kaiser wants is the abolition of socialism in compensation for Western agreement to disarm.

What does Kaiser have to say about conventional armaments? He also has his own view—or is it only his own?—that it is right and proper to stockpile them, without on any account renouncing nuclear weapons. At the same time, he questions the Soviet resolve to cut back on armed forces and conventional armaments and shrouds in absolute silence the impressive package of proposals that the socialist countries have offered on this score and to which NATO has not come up with a coherent reply to this day.

Prof. Kaiser's effusions are a typical example of the militarized mentality in the West. They also demonstrate that the fight for nuclear disarmament will indeed be a long, uphill struggle. The military-industrial complex does not intend to give up its profits. It is mounting a campaign to reshape public opinion and discredit the idea of nuclear disarmament. Scholars of Karl Kaiser's standing are lending the aims of this campaign intellectual respectability. ■

of values in order to destroy the traditional values of the Third World countries. As a result of this ideological expansionism there is no security in the realm of culture, and the resurgence of religious fundamentalism has come as a response.

It is time for the world to view all these growing threats as an integral whole.

The non-aligned states have tried to resolve some of these problems. In the U.N. they have secured the adoption of the declaration on decolonization, of resolutions as to a new international economic order and a new international information order, and a resolution on disarmament. These documents are milestones in their attempts to create comprehensive security for themselves and the rest of the world. Alas, far from everything has been achieved in practice.

It is time to realize all this once more in a new comprehensive system of security. Such is the joint task, to whose solution both the non-aligned states, including India, and the socialist countries must dedicate themselves in coming years.

We cannot have lasting peace in a world based on oppression, a world divided into rich and poor. The maintenance of peace on earth envisages equality and equal rights. Our energies must be devoted to the attainment of that goal. ■

Poll conducted by B. KOZLOV, L. MLECHIN, P. NEGOITSA, D. POGORZHELSKY, L. ZHEGALOV

Trembling Earth

Policy of Testing and Testing of Policy

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

Each new underground nuclear test carried out by the U.S. in Nevada since the beginning of the U.S.S.R.'s moratorium on nuclear tests gets a code name. "Cornucopia"... "Darwin"... "Panamint" (the name of a legendary ghost mining city in California)... "Bodie" (the name of another phantom city)... "Jefferson"... What an odd predilection for phantoms, or chase of phantoms. What grand and sentimental names. I have tried to understand what lies behind this sentimentality: I don't think the great English natural scientist or the author of the Declaration of Independence would feel flattered by the dubious honour of having their names so used. Eventually, I came across a remark of Thomas Jefferson's that gave me a clue: "Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

While America is making the earth tremble by its nuclear tests the thought that God is just does not seem to bother it, not yet.

Angel Balevski, President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, offered another argument against Nevada tests. The continuing American nuclear experiments, he said, keep mankind in constant fear. This is terrible for it cripples people's minds and souls. You cannot keep mankind in a state of constant tension. It is a crime, whatever the motives behind it may be.

Far be it for me to divide politics and politicians in terms of absolute good and absolute evil. But the question of nuclear tests is basic and at the same time clear enough to warrant categorical conclusions.

Given the current military-strategic parity and the dangerous oversaturation of our small planet with nuclear weapons, and the fact that Americans have conducted more tests than the Soviet Union by a quarter or one third since the start of the nuclear arms race what can be the White House's reasons for stubbornly refusing to end the tests? Just this—it doesn't want to.

The question of nuclear tests figured in the Reykjavik summit meeting. An impression was formed, probably deceptive, that the issue was somewhat overshadowed by other major nuclear disarmament questions. But it belongs in the same package. It has the enviable distinction of being the easiest and the most ready for solution. It represents the first mile, or kilometre, or li with which, according to President Kennedy's favourite Chinese saying, even the longest road begins. The road to a nuclear-free world could certainly begin with a world without explosions.

The First Mile

A number of important steps have already been made towards ending nuclear explosions:

The 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water stopped shaking and polluting them. The only place left then for this infernal work was underground—the domain of Pluto.

The 1974 Soviet-American treaty limited underground explosions to 150 kilotons.

The 1976 Soviet-American treaty limited the yield of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Regrettably these two treaties, known as "threshold treaties" because they set the permissible thresholds of explosions, have not been ratified by the U.S. Congress.

In 1977 the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain began drafting a Treaty on the Complete and General Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests. Within three years the text and supplements to the treaty were agreed upon almost in full. But in 1980 the U.S. withdrew from the negotiations.

With the failure of appeals, the U.S.S.R. decided to try the force of example. On August 6, 1985, the Hiroshima Day, the Soviet Union announced a **unilateral** moratorium on underground tests in the hope that the United States would join it.

A bilateral moratorium and a treaty on complete cessation of nuclear tests are demanded by the vast majority of countries, the most diverse movements, organizations and initiative groups, from the Socialist International to the Delhi Six. The latter has more than once directly and urgently appealed to the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to heed the voice of peace. An excerpt from a speech made by former president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere at the meeting of the Delhi Six in Mexico in August 1986 indicates the extent of the anxiety felt in the Third World and elsewhere:

"In 1984 the U.N. Secretary-General posed this question before the major nuclear powers: by what right do they decide mankind's destiny? To ignore this question means to practise imperialism at a level unprecedented in human history. This is worse, much worse, than colonialism in Africa. That could be eliminated, and, indeed, this has almost been done, though at the cost of great sacrifices. But the disappearance of mankind is a catastrophe no sane person should even think of. This is the last and absolutely unpardonable sin against God, against man and against everything that exists.

"Today we repeat our appeal for ending all nuclear tests. We give due credit to the unilateral moratorium that has been repeatedly extended by the Soviet Union... We call on the United States of America and its allies with redoubled energy to immediately stop all underground nuclear explosions... This minor initial step will not be a manifestation of any weakness but will create a favourable situation for disarmament talks. We appeal to all leaders of states possessing nuclear weapons to have the courage to show at least this degree of good will to those who are seized with fear and thus lessen the grounds for such fear."

The response to this earnest plea was to set off more explosions in the Nevada desert. A spokesman for the test range has given this brief explanation for each one: "It was related to armaments."

Pious Excuses

How is this stubbornness justified? The road to hell here seems to be paved not so much with good in-

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov

tentions as with sanctimonious explanations. These are quite instructive.

One of them has it that the U.S. wants to conclude a comprehensive test ban treaty, but feels that the Russians are too secretive. But, as stated in Moscow and later confirmed at Reykjavik, the U.S.S.R. is ready for strict and complete triple verification: by national, joint and international means, including on-site inspections. The Delhi Six has also offered its services as regards verification. Furthermore, scientists have succeeded in dispelling the mystic fog surrounding nuclear tests and have proved that reliable verification is not a technical problem.

The Reagan Administration was in its own way quick to react to this. Instead of reversing its position on the moratorium issue, it changed its arguments.

When the chief vehemently advanced argument collapsed, there came a flurry of lesser arguments.

That the U.S.S.R. is through with its programme of nuclear weapons modernization having gained a lead on the U.S.A. which lags tragically behind. The Swedish Institute of Defence has reported that Americans have carried out 800 explosions, to the Soviet Union's 563.

Another argument goes that tests are needed to be assured of a reliable deterrent potential. It does not hold water either. Three quarters of nuclear arsenals consist of warheads with a yield of over 150 kilotons, i. e., above the allowed ceiling. And yet both states manage to do very well without "verification explosions." Experts further specify that doubts could arise not over fissionable materials with a half life of tens of years, but over mechanical elements, which can be checked out without explosions. Mechanical tests or even a run through computers would be quite adequate.

Even granted that without tests nuclear weapons become obsolete—on both sides—so what? Isn't it President Reagan who dreams that some day the weapon will be "rendered impotent and obsolete"? This end can well be achieved without "star wars" by simply saying "No" to nuclear tests.

Another argument has it that a comprehensive nuclear test ban would accelerate and not (as is universally thought) prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. If many non-nuclear countries come to doubt the validity of the American deterrent they might choose "the nuclear option." And the U.S.A. would then have to increase its arsenals to be on the safe side. A veritable grab bag of arguments.

Choicest Argument

The choicest argument has, in my opinion, come from Kenneth Adelman, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Unlike the spokesman for the Nevada test range, he maintains that the Nevada blasts were connected with... disarmament. "Disarmament of kind," he said literally, "an increase in the safety and a reduction in the size of our arsenals—has been taking place of its own accord. We have been moving toward a smaller, safer, more reliable deterrent—and it is largely testing that has made that possible; in the absence of tests to assure reliability, we may find we need more weapons to get the same level of assured deterrence."

This is a beautiful example of the new eloquence being used to justify the U.S.A.'s same old reluctance to end nuclear testing. In August 1945 America possessed an atomic monopoly, and the entire world stock consisted of just two bombs—Little Boy and Fat Man—which were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively. Since then test sites in the United States and elsewhere have been rocked with 1,500 explosions. Fifty thousand warheads with an aggregate yield of a million Hiroshimas have been stockpiled in world nuclear arsenals. This process cannot be called "disarmament" "of a kind" or otherwise. Here, perhaps, Mr Adelman has gone too far.

Thanks for Being So Frank

It is worthwhile to hear more from this young ambitious man whose inspired theorizing unwittingly makes him remarkably frank.

According to Adelman, American foreign policy is based on the "arms control tradition," the "disarmament tradition" and the "principle of stability."

According to Adelman, the first two traditions possess drawbacks and internal contradictions, not to mention the fact that they don't mesh well with the principle of deterrence. What then should be done to remain true to three such different goals at once?

A choice has to be made, and the U.S.A. has made it.

"We all want to reduce weapons, but the Reagan Administration is at one, I think, with every other postwar U.S. Administration in placing the imperative of stability ahead of the mandate for disarmament," says Kenneth Adelman. Thanks again for being so frank!

In the meantime his tenor keeps increasing.

He criticizes "the tunnel vision" which, as he sees it, consists in the following:

"Arms control is defined in people's minds as a certain kind of agreement—the kind we signed, say, in 1979 [SALT-2.—Ed.]—and that's that. Stability is equated with having such agreements. But... you can gain stability and mutual restraint without agreements... I would go further: not only is the concept of arms control larger than agreements, but the concept of stability is larger than the concept of arms control. You can help ensure stability through arms control agreements; but at the most basic level you ensure... deterrence with arms themselves."

These words carry special meaning in the lips of the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Now everything clicks in place: "with arms themselves"! Arms control and disarmament are only good as catchwords or dreams. It is the weapons alone that are important in actual fact. Make way for the arms race!

This is an old philosophy. It was with such a philosophy, bluntly and straightforwardly expressed, that Reagan began his term of office. With time, the phraseology has become more refined, peaceful declarations and promises have been included into the lexicon, but this has not changed the priorities.

It is on this basis that the old treaties —SALT-2 and the ABM Treaty— are being undermined.

It is impossible to conclude new treaties on such a basis because this kind of a philosophy cancels or internally sabotages negotiations. It is incompatible with reason and pragmatism, and ignores the interests of the other side. Even when the Reagan Administration does undertake to negotiate, it is armed with the same philosophy. So it was with Reykjavik. After Reykjavik this philosophy has turned against it with vehemence.

"Star Wars" Cannonade

Let us now return from the testing of policy to the policy of testing.

As time passes, the explosions become cleaner and arguments dirtier. Now that the U.S. Administration has virtually run out of arguments, whatever they may be, it has adopted a head-on course: as long as nuclear weapons are necessary their tests are also necessary.

Oddly enough, this statement is not complete. What, specifically, are the tests necessary for? The answer is simple and quite concrete.

The MX, Trident and Midgetman are three nuclear missile programmes dependent on underground tests.

It has been written that "star wars" weapons, third-generation nuclear arms, will require hundreds of Nevada explosions, and thus, the test programme is scheduled not for years, but for decades.

All of Washington's loquacity fails to answer this simple question: why can't the Americans rely on their deterrent potential without further testing, while the Russians can? Doesn't it suggest a more fundamental dilemma?

The U.S.S.R. is for banning all nuclear tests, because it really seeks a "reasonable adequacy" of armaments, because it believes that a nuclear-free world is possible and, furthermore, urgently necessary.

The U.S. is for continuing tests, because it finds nuclear disarmament unacceptable, because it can never get rid of the illusion that yet one more new system of wonder weapons will grant it the superiority it so strongly desires. The very concept of "star wars" undermines the idea of ending nuclear tests and the hope that a treaty will be signed in the next few decades on their general and complete prohibition.

The Nevada blasts are not merely a persistent inertia of the past. They are an earnest of the cannonade of "star wars" to come.

Compromise Formula

On the eve of Reykjavik the U.S. Administration, in an attempt to improve its image on this matter, announced that it was ready to begin the process of ratifying the "threshold treaties" and that it favours a certain regulation of further explosions.

Certainly the promise to begin ratification, expressed with strange timidity, was a decade late, but better late than never. Regulation is better than an utter lack of restraint, but it also serves to legalize and give consent to testing.

In Reykjavik I heard George Shultz say that ending tests before reducing nuclear weapons was like putting the cart before the horse. But in fact just the opposite is the case: in order to stop the cart of the arms race, which is gathering speed and rushing forwards, one must stop its motive force—tests. Once this "horse" is reined in, the qualitative race will, for practical purposes, be brought to a halt.

The American side at Höfdi insisted on its principle of reduction of nuclear tests with a reduction of nuclear arsenals. In response, the Soviet side made an important compromise. It agreed to accept the idea provided the U.S.A. agreed to join full-scale bilateral talks that would lead to a complete ban on nuclear tests. Thus, a formula was found for combining the American proposal, which pursued specific aims, with the comprehensive Soviet proposal. Of course, this is less than an immediate moratorium, but it takes two to tango, as they say; besides, it was a way to preserve the constructive elements of the American position and to remove ambiguities. But even this compromise formula was rejected. Why? Is it not true that every U.S. President prior to Reagan proclaimed the complete banning of tests as their goal? Or was the American proposal merely a ruse for gaining time so that the endless chain of tests could be continued?

And indeed the American tests have continued, giving the lie to the President's rhetoric, for kilotons speak louder than words.

Will Washington Wreck the Soviet Moratorium?

On December 18 the Soviet government issued a clear and stern statement: the Soviet moratorium will continue in the coming year until the first American test. This was the fifth extension of the moratorium in the last 18 months. While it demonstrated the resources of good will on the Soviet side, there was also a bitter taste. For now the question of whether the tests (including Soviet tests) will continue is to be decided in Washington. And there is little sign of change in American policy.

A difficult situation, difficult decisions. It is only fair to say that Moscow has done all it could, even more. But it has run into a blind wall. Moscow, if you like, has declared a bilateral moratorium. Washington can go along with it or wreck it.

In real life, one side may set an example, but one cannot go it alone in bringing about a nuclear-free world. This could only be done together with other nuclear powers.

One great power disarming itself while the other is arming itself is not a viable kind of the international division of labour. Even a noble goal cannot be a privilege of one side in this interdependent and closely-knit world.

Silence in Kazakhstan and continued testing in Nevada... Neither can go on forever.

■

Only Under Compulsion?

VALENTIN FALIN

A great deal, if not all, both good and bad that has accompanied man in the course of his development, has been conceived by the human brain. This is especially true in modern times, and particularly at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century.

■

World science can endow any state, and not necessarily the strongest, with technical and other means of warfare capable of killing every living thing on earth. These are means against which there is no effective antidote, nor, indeed, will there be in the foreseeable future. These means, once devised, dictate their own logic, and may get out of man's control.

In short, the world stands on the threshold of critical technological breakthroughs, which will most likely deprive governments of the ability to control the arms race and, in the final count, everything that happens on the planet. This will be the case even if the scales fall from the eyes of the world community when the said technologies materialize, and everyone passionately desires to reach accord. This is no theoretical conjecture, but the reality we have to reckon with.

■

What will the world be like in the 21st century? On what moral, political and military basis should relations between states be built? What will the world community be like—considering that today it comprises more than 160 states, each with its own interests, its own individual concepts of justice and injustice, of good and ill, with its own views on many issues, both those that exist today and those that will emerge tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, in the foreseeable or the not so foreseeable future?

The more states there are in the community, the more varied their internal structures; the more diverse are their traditions, the more points of contact there are, on the one hand, and, on the other, the more areas, in which the old and the new are in conflict and in which objective difficulties block any common course to ensure that the interests of one state do not exclude the interests of another.

Are the methods of regulation, established de facto in international relations, appropriate for coping with the problems of the present, and especially, of the future? If not, why not? If they are, then to what extent? CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has emphasized that it is hardly appropriate to attempt to confine tomorrow within the concepts of yesterday. This is wrong as man is living in a qualitatively different situation in which the cost of error is quite different from what it was 40-50 years ago or more.

■

We know what stood in the way of peace based on consensus and cooperation before the second world war. Let us recall the words of Hankey, Secretary to the British government without interruption from 1919 to 1938, who believed that war was the right and proper vehicle for the development of international events. It would be naive to think, he said, that imperialism could pursue a non-imperialist policy. This was not a private person's pronouncement in defence of a private stand. It was a philosophy, of which the architect was British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, a philosophy that held that war was preferable to peace secured with the participation of the U.S.S.R.

The experience of the second world war showed this position to be extremely dangerous as much for imperialism as for the rest of the world. The lessons of the past war should have made us wiser, otherwise its death toll of 55 million was in vain. But are we prepared to be wiser? Or are we doomed to live in peace with one another only under compulsion? Nuclear compulsion today, electronic laser compulsion tomorrow, but compulsion, a big stick all the same. And what till somebody lets the stick slip, whether by accident or design, with all the ensuing consequences?

It took only fifteen minutes to make the decision about whether the world was to be nuclear or non-nuclear. Why must it take long decades, if not a century, for words about a nuclear-free world to be translated into reality?

Here is the actual situation which the deployment of U.S. first-strike missiles in Western Europe has produced. Their function, according to generals Haig and Rogers, two official and competent authorities, is to decapitate the Soviet Union at the very outset of war. And so, the missiles are on the alert. Soviet early warning systems monitor their launching from West German territory. We know that their warheads are aimed primarily at Soviet administrative centres and other vital targets. Command centres are notified of the identified

missiles two or three minutes after they are launched at the latest. This leaves only three to five minutes before these missiles reach their targets.

What will happen in these last 3-5 minutes? Will there be an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet? Will the Soviet side wait to be decapitated, look on without replying at the implementation of NATO directives ordering that the maximum damage be inflicted on the enemy in the minimum time? These directives specify that in the first 25 minutes of war it will be necessary to kill 70 million people "to break the Soviet resolve to resist." But do not expect nonresistance to evil. Retaliation against the aggressor will be inevitable.

■

But why all this? The result is clear in advance. Those who fight first will die second. That is the most to be hoped for. They will have no chance to derive even sadistic pleasure from the evil inflicted. Or has the desire to wreak social revenge driven them to a self-denial that is final and irreversible? Everyone wonders which is the lesser evil: to lose your freedom and your head or your soul. But you will keep both, so long as the head is emptied of dross, the claims to supremacy, omnipotence and club rule that have fuddled the senses. That has gone, never to return. Times have changed. The planet is pluralist today. It has as many poles as there are nations. That is undoubtedly to the good, as it is altogether natural.

It is vital, though, that thinking processes, the formation of political concepts, the making of decisions, should be in harmony with the qualitatively new situation. This will not come suddenly of itself. The evolution of new yardsticks, new parameters within which to examine and regulate all our problems, new methods and, to a certain extent, new principles, will be attended by heated discussion both within and between the different countries. But that is inevitable.

For its part, the Soviet side has drawn the firm conclusion that today the problems that exist between states, among them problems of security or those associated with it, can be resolved exclusively by peaceful means through negotiation. The position-of-strength policy, the policy of force has completely outlived itself. In our time security can only be all-embracing and, as far as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are concerned, mutual. The craving for military superiority is fallacious at the root: it is unattainable and attempts to deny this objective fact inevitably serve to destabilize the world situation.

In fact, we drew this conclusion for ourselves, though perhaps not in so perfect a form as today, when the Soviet republic was in its infancy. It was documented in Lenin's Decree on Peace, in the call for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

This conclusion was reflected in the Soviet-American accords, which placed on record the mutual understanding that in this nuclear age there is no sane alternative to peaceful coexistence, that both countries see it as their aim to avert war, especially nuclear war, and promote and broaden areas of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The policy known as détente is essential and feasible. For it to be definitely successful, however, one indispensable condition is consistency. It hardly makes sense to sign a treaty, especially a permanent one, if either of the sides does not regard it as binding from the start; a treaty with no time limit will be operational only for as long as it is more expedient to observe than to breach it. It is inadmissible when launching a process between states, especially with regard to military security, arbitrarily to break it off at some point, if for purely domestic or subjective motives it seems unduly burdensome. This is the case with SALT, where Washington is sending down the drain the stock of understanding accumulated over years and decades.

In law there are no such concepts as "desirable" and "undesirable." Law always deals with the category of "principle." When one side is permitted something the other side cannot be denied it. Law is built on that axiom and always will be. Even Christianity rests on that principle: do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. However, in the subconscious of some people in the West there are still two degrees of security, more security for themselves and less security for the rest. However, to envisage different principles for different countries is to sow hostility and conflict between them.

In considering what will come 10, 15, or 20 years from now, the Soviet Union seeks an answer that will not conflict with the interests of other countries. We do not demand for ourselves anything we would plan to deny others. We desire for ourselves the very same security that we are prepared to recognize as necessary to the United States and Western Europe, including the neutral countries, that we would want for India, Africa and all countries and continents the world over. Therein perhaps lies our fundamental difference from everything that is professed today in Washington.

■

How long do you think it took President Harry Truman to consider the question of whether the world should be nuclear or not, of whether or not to continue collaborating with the Soviet Union after the aggressors had been crushed in the second world war? On April 23, 1945, Secretary of War Stimson and Manhattan project director General Groves notified the President of what had been achieved in work on the nuclear bomb. It took them only 15 minutes to report, after which Truman said the U.S. would rule the world. There would be no further question of equal relations with the U.S.S.R. Had Truman said at the time that force was transient, that the American side would not abandon the great cause for which it had fought alongside the Soviet Union in the war, security in the world today would look very different.

So to adopt a decision that turns everything upside down a quarter of an hour is enough, but days, years and decades are not for a constructive move? Why is it necessary to take fifty years, if not a century, to translate what is being said about the value of a denuclearized world into fact? Why put off indefinitely the implementation of conclusions that have long been drawn? If it is really clear that the world cannot survive the burns and injuries of a nuclear attack, then why tempt providence? The quality of a decision does not depend directly on the quantity of time needed to reach it; it is determined by the quality of thinking.

The problem is not as hopelessly difficult as some would like to suggest. It remains difficult for as long as there are people willing to sit it out on the old defences, for as long as the vicious circles that place so much prejudice in the way of all innovation and change remain unbroken.

■

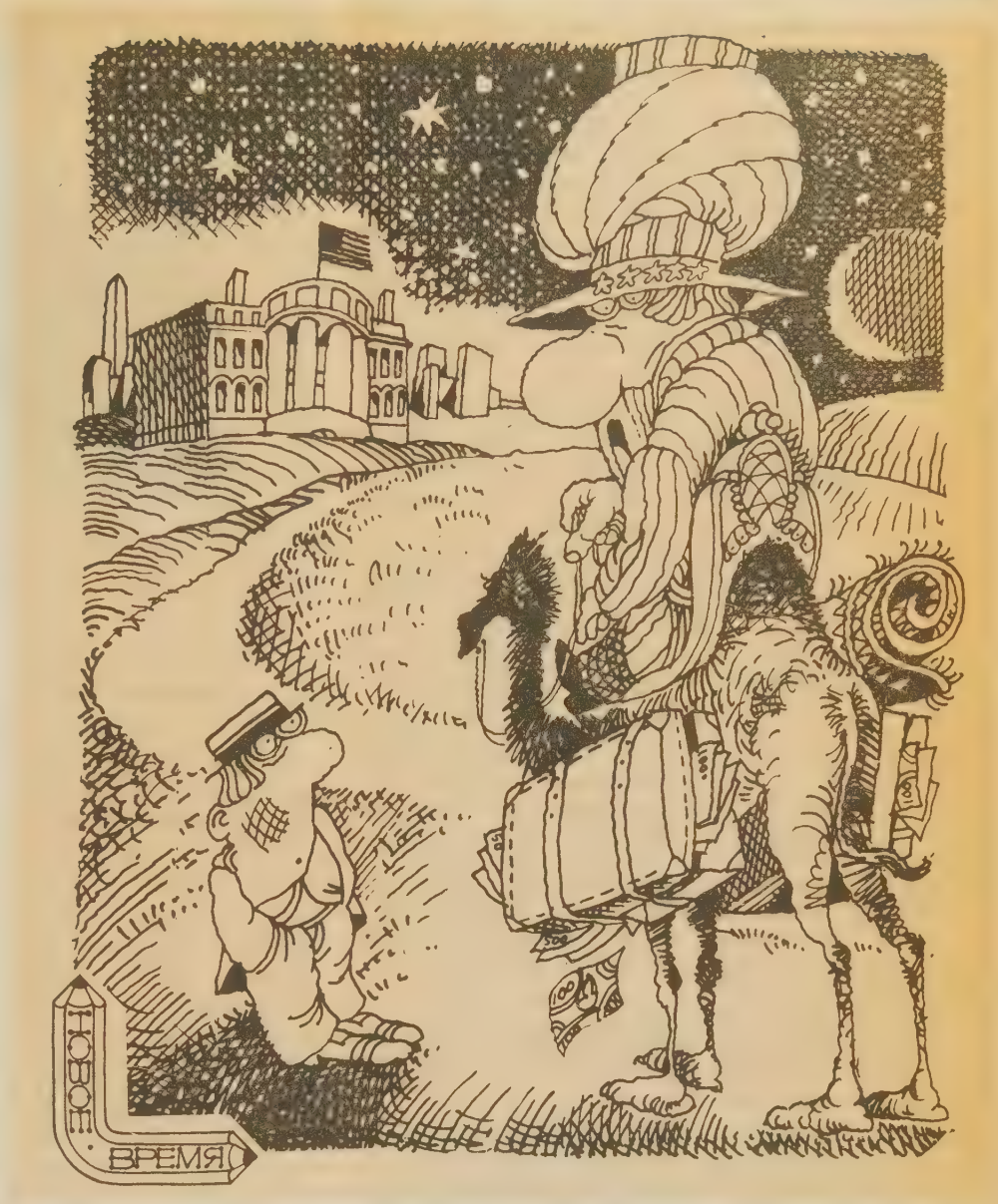
SYRIA

New Proposals Against Terrorism

● SYRIA HAS PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS TO COMBAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

The proposals in question are set out in a letter sent by Syrian Foreign Minister Farouq al Shar'a to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar at the close of last year. He explains, more specifically, the proposal made by Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad last May during an official visit to Greece to set up an international commission to define the nature of terrorism and acts of terror and draft the fundamentals for combating terrorism. The Syrian President also said at the time that, like other Arab states, his country was prepared to cooperate with such a body in every way.

"Why don't the 'anti-terrorism fighters' in Washington and London support this proposal?" the President asked at a recent Syrian trade union conference in Damascus. He followed up at once with the answer: "They simply don't want to fight terrorism, moreover, they are reluctant to have terrorist activity stopped."



What do they mean by "Irangate"? What proof do our enemies have!

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

He was borne out in the event. Washington launched a "misinformation campaign" against Libya threatening it with more attacks. But when the campaign was exposed and a row erupted, it appeared that its purpose was to provoke anti-American action, which it was hoped subsequently to exploit as a pretext for attacking Libya and overthrowing its government. This plan fell through.

Only a little afterwards the world witnessed a large-scale anti-Syrian campaign, with London now assuming the principal role. Predictably, Tel Aviv also participated. Mossad agents collaborated with their British colleagues to frame an attempted act of terror against an El-Al aircraft at London's Heathrow airport. The British authorities forged "incontrovertible evidence" of Syrian involvement in this "attempt," while Washington undertook to twist the arms of its West European allies to join in "collective sanctions" against Damascus.

To this day London and Washington are proceeding with their measures against Syria. The U.S. State Department has announced that it "will no longer issue visas to holders of service passports issued by the Syrian government." Under the pretext of combating "international terrorism," West Berlin authorities have deported a large group of Syrian nationals.

Nonetheless, the anti-Syrian campaign has not yielded the results its architects hoped for. They have failed to isolate Syria internationally or get some NATO countries, for instance Greece, to subscribe to anti-Syrian "sanctions."

Syria has now put forward

new proposals to pool international efforts in the campaign against terrorism. The above-mentioned letter not only recalls Hafiz Assad's proposal to set up an international commission to define the concept of "terrorism" but also suggests convening a special international conference under U.N. auspices to discuss anti-terrorist measures. As an initial step, it is proposed very shortly to form a representative committee to organize the conference. The implementation of the Syrian proposals would substantially contribute to the drive against international terrorism.

E. KORSHUNOV

FRANCE

No Christmas Truce

● FROM THE RAILWAY STATION LOUDSPEAKERS CAME THE ANNOUNCEMENT: "ATTENTION PLEASE! DUE TO A STRIKE BY TRAIN PERSONNEL THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER DEPARTURES OF SUBURBAN TRAINS."

Nor did many long-distance trains leave their depots over the Christmas holidays. Three-quarters of France's railway capacity lay idle. No trains were running in the metro, without which Paris is hardly Paris. Many ships were unable to sail from Marseilles and Nice, as striking merchant seamen had blocked their passage with a steel cable across the harbour exit. Planes on several domestic routes were grounded. Christmas Eve bells seemed to spell alarm. Peace on earth and good will to men?

The closing month of 1986 was marked by a strike movement of unprecedented force. It was triggered off by the students, without, however, a repetition of the riots of May 1968. This time their angry revolt did not degenerate into anarchy. In protesting against plans of the government of right-wing parties to restructure higher education on the U.S. model, they amazed everyone with their organization, coolness, sense of purpose and outright reluctance to be pawns in the political game.

The students' confrontation with the authorities compelled the government to back down. The guardians of law and order were rushed against the demonstrators, who maintained strict discipline, and lost their cool. Their victim, Malik Oussekine, became the movement's rallying banner. The government withdrew its reactionary bill from the parliamentary agenda. In France—for the time being at any rate—there will be no "financial selection" for those who wish to study. Nor will there be universities for the rich and ersatz-universities for the poor.

One down to the government.

Next the farmers rebelled, appalled by the government's policy of surrendering to the transnationals that dominate the European Economic Community and of sacrificing French farming interests. The farmers' resolute opposition compelled the government to hand out two billion francs to subsidize the agrarian sector.

Another point down for the government.

An unprecedented conflict erupted at the France-Presse news agency when its president-director general, Henri Pigeat, a government appointee, was on the point of "restructuring" the agency, as a result of which 300 of the staff, including 150 journalists, would have been laid off. This time, though they were members of different, often conflicting trade unions, the staff united to draft a common platform and go on strike. France-Presse telexes were silent in all French and foreign media editorial offices as well as all French embassies abroad. The country's "presence" was now far less apparent in the world. Some time later Henri Pigeat resigned.

A third point down for the government.

Then the railwaymen, a detachment of the French workers steeled in decades of class battles, entered the lists, emulating the students, farmers and journalists. They struck in resolute protest at the government's austerity programme, which would mean sharply reduced pay, fewer new jobs and thousands upon thousands of redundancies, not least on the railways.

These nine trade union activists chained themselves to Paris City Hall to protest dismissal from the state-owned Renault automobile company.

From L'Humanité

The day after the students forced the government to back down, Le Monde's director André Fontaine stated: "The government ... seeks grounds for a counterattack." The railmen's strike was selected. Attempts were made to discredit them and accuse them of encroaching upon national stability and the interests of the nation's widest social strata, for as the strike coincided with Christmas it had forced many to cancel planned trips to visit relatives or go to the coast or the mountains. The government high-handedly declined to negotiate with the railwaymen's representatives. The strikers' dialogue with the management of the National Railway Society showed that the two sides held totally different positions, and hardly had negotiations begun when they were immediately interrupted. The "railway round" in the fierce "working masses versus government" bout was clearly going in favour of the workingmen.

True, in some areas the government "sidestepped the opponent" by hitting below the belt. This was clearest with regard to the bill concerned with what is called "regulation of work time." This act resolves a simple but important problem for the capitalist government, as it arrogates to all employers the prerogative arbitrarily to define the duration of the working week, which will supposedly create new jobs and reduce unemployment. This is, of course, not the case. The idea is in fact to legalize capitalist arbitrary practices and somehow "adjust" unemployment by dividing one job into several "shares" for distribution among the unemployed. This will mean that nobody will be able to subsist on the wages for his "share of the job," as today it is already hard to get by on full-job pay. The initial attempt to implement this through an ordinance, which becomes law if the President signs it, was abortive. François Mitterrand refused to sign, regarding implementation of the government's programme a "regression." It was widely expected that, as has become customary for the strange "bed fellows" of a socialist president and a right-wing government, the ordinance would be reworded as a bill and endorsed by a parliamentary majority. However, the government chose a more cunning alternative. To avoid stormy discussions, it reshaped the ordinance as an amendment to one of the bills that have already almost been endorsed and this "amendment" went through.

The options French democracy offers are indeed limitless.

V. KHROMOV

WESTERN EUROPE

About-Face on Zero

● WHY WESTERN EUROPE HAS FALLEN OUT OF LOVE WITH THE "'ZERO OPTION."

Were one to ask some statesmen and military in the NATO countries of Western Europe, what had alarmed them most in 1986, they would definitely answer: Reykjavik. Yes, Reykjavik, where the Soviet and U.S. leaders agreed in principle to slash nuclear armaments and introduce the "zero option" on medium-range missiles in Europe. This suddenly feasible prospect caused jitters in the ruling circles of Western Europe, especially the F.R.G., Britain and France. They did all they could to put it off indefinitely once more.

Meanwhile, as will be remembered, the "zero option" was a U.S. proposal put forward by President Reagan in the autumn of 1981. At the time NATO defence ministers said they were prepared to renounce deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, provided the Soviet Union abolished its medium-range systems. Both U.S. and West European politicians delivered any number of pompous speeches extolling the "zero option" as best according with Western Europe's interests. On January 31, 1983, U.S. Vice-President George Bush made public in West Berlin an open letter to the nations of Europe demanding a ban on medium-range missiles. Further, F.R.G. Chancellor Helmut Kohl promised to dismantle the systems already deployed provided the "zero option" was accepted.

Even then, critics of NATO policies suspected that the "zero option" offer had been made merely as a propaganda ploy to stem the mass anti-missile movement. U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger cynically observed at the time that the U.S. should convince the West Europeans that everything it did was good for them as well and that, moreover, they should say they liked it and that it was exactly what they wanted of the U.S.

So to sum up: West Europeans were to think that Pershing 2 and cruise missiles were presumably being deployed merely to induce the Soviet Union to dismantle its own medium-range systems. In fact, the U.S. and NATO had totally different aims in mind, as is evidenced by some eloquent testimonials. Colin Gray, adviser to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, wrote in March 1982 that the U.S. would need to "rearm," even if the other side had not a single SS-20 missile. At the same time the Bundeswehr's inspector-general Wolfgang Altenburg, now chairman of the NATO military committee, said at a cabinet meeting in Bonn that the new systems were being deployed not for the purpose of countering the SS-20 missiles.

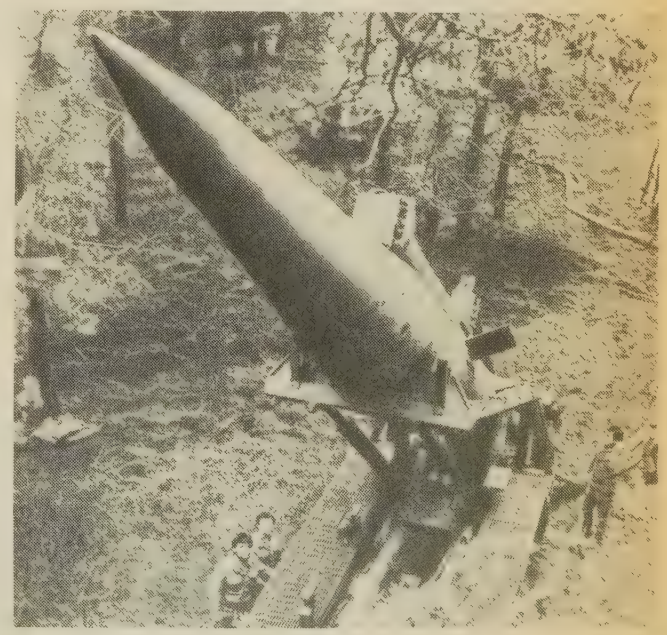
Consequently, from the very outset the architects of the "zero option" merely sought to deceive the public. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung does not find it necessary to hide this any longer. "The 'zero option,'" it noted, "was offered to detract from the criticism made by the opponents of rearming and induce them to look to the Russians. This proposal was intended for the public, as in confidential talks it was intimated that Moscow would not agree to the complete abolition of its medium-range missiles."

These expectations were not borne out. At Reykjavik the Soviet Union put forward cardinal proposals to reduce nuclear weapons, including the proposal to eliminate Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, while leaving the issue of French and British potentials out of account. Reagan found it hard to object to his own "zero option."

After Reykjavik, Chancellor

We cannot give up Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, American General Bernard Rogers, supreme commander of NATO's united forces in Europe, declares today.

From Stern (F.R.G.)



Helmut Kohl was the first of the West European leaders to go to Washington. Far from attempting to coax Reagan into believing it would be worthwhile to compromise on SDI for the sake of a nuclear-free Europe, he, on the contrary, with advance backing from Paris and London, placed a new obstacle in the way of the elimination of Euromissiles. Alluding to the alleged "overwhelming Soviet superiority" in operational tactical missiles (although only a year earlier official Bonn documents had stated that they did not represent "a new threat"), Helmut Kohl pressed for "equivalent ceilings" on weapons in this class. In this way he sought to "amend" the results of Reykjavik, where the two sides had agreed, in the event of a "zero solution" on medium-range missiles in Europe, to freeze the operational tactical potential and negotiate its reduction at once. In fact, the Chancellor sought more "rearming" for NATO. Washington always treats allied demands of this order with complete understanding.

Bavarian premier Franz Josef Strauss, who has never concealed his dislike of every disarmament project, especially in the nuclear field, had every ground to say: "Thank God, Kohl and I are of one mind in saying we should not strive for a zero solution on medium-range missiles in Europe." The right-wing leader is not at all embarrassed that, according to the Bonn government's official statement, the "zero option" is still seen as "acceptable." He knows very well that the preliminary conditions Bonn put forward after Reykjavik to "rearm" as concerns operational tactical missiles, plus the demand put to the Warsaw Treaty countries to cut back unilaterally on conventional armaments and armed forces, make agreement impossible.

The changed attitude to the "zero option" was also evident at recent NATO meetings. Thus, the communiqué issued by the nuclear planning group and defence planning committee makes no mention whatever of the "zero option." Further, the document adopted by the NATO Council at its session in Brussels at foreign ministers' level states that the Reykjavik accord on medium-range missiles is only fully supported by NATO countries where these missiles are stationed. No explanation is forthcoming as concerns the position of the other countries. It is widely known, however, that France opposes the "zero option," even though only the abolition of U.S. and Soviet missiles is proposed. Paris fears, news analysts note, that the issue of the French potential will arise at the next phase of nuclear disarmament. Meanwhile, it regards its long-term programme for the modernization and buildup of nuclear forces as untouchable.

London also declares that NATO defences will continue to hinge upon nuclear weapons. In Brussels the representative of Italy, another country crammed with U.S. missiles, was applauded by the "hawks" when he said that the "zero option" entailed the "danger of destabilization."

Nor do NATO military staffs want to hear about the elimination of medium-range missiles. The "zero option" would spell "NATO's nuclear castration," military strategists object in crude army vernacular. Loudest here are such West German generals as the above-mentioned Altenburg and deputy supreme allied commander of NATO's forces in Europe Hans-Joachim Mack. A reserve option has been prepared should the "zero option" nevertheless be implemented. This is to outfit F-111 bombers, of the type that raided Libya last spring, with cruise missiles. Subordinate to the NATO command are 150 such bombers, each capable of carrying ten missiles. Simple arithmetic shows that then NATO generals would have nearly three times more nuclear warheads with which to strike at targets within Soviet territory than the "double-track decision" envisaged.

A. TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

CHINA

Students in the Streets

● IN THE LATTER HALF OF LAST MONTH SEVERAL CHINESE CITIES WITNESSED HUGE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND RALLIES.

The student action was greatest in Shanghai with its population of 12 million. A Xinhua news agency dispatch said: "As of December 19, thousands of college students with placards reading 'We Want Democracy,' held repeated demonstrations and rallies in the centre of the city." Other demands called among other things for better instruction and improved living conditions and student canteen services. These actions, the Renmin ribao observed, seriously obstructed public transport, violated public order and disrupted production at some factories and plants.

Shanghai mayor Jiang Zemin received student delegates and urged them to return to their classes. He said that such methods of organizing street demonstrations resulted in instability and undesirable economic losses, and generally adversely affected city life. Dissatisfied with their conversations with the mayor and other city councillors, Shanghai students continued to demonstrate and hold rallies. A spokesman for the Shanghai city administration said that, after considerable explanatory work, the public security services had taken administrative action to restore public order.

Student action in Shanghai and related political problems are being extensively commented upon in the Chinese press. Renmin ribao and other newspapers have carried interviews with representatives of Shanghai factory workers and intellectuals, who oppose the demonstrations as a vehicle for presenting political demands. They stressed that the Chinese people had "suffered" enough from the so-called "broad democracy" of the period of the "cultural revolution."

Renmin ribao hopes that all those interested in reforms in China's political structure, including student youth, will prevent any repetition of the "historic tragedy" of the "cultural revolution." "If some, in a mistaken assessment of the situation, are inciting the masses to implement 'broad democracy,' attempting to topple the party leadership, swerve from the socialist path, obstruct reform and impede production and construction, they will fail to achieve those ends," the paper says.

L. MIRONOV

U.S.A.

His Personal CIA?

● THE POLITICAL SCANDAL OF "IRANGATE," WHICH HAS SHAKEN WASHINGTON, IS GATHERING MOMENTUM.

More and more public figures are emerging from behind the scenes. Others, on the contrary, are making their exits. Today it is clear that the President's prime tool with regard to the clandestine arms deliveries to Iran, and the secret financing of the Nicaraguan contras was the National Security Council (NSC).

This body was established in 1947 as an arm of the White House staff to coordinate and analyze data received from diplomatic, military and intelligence agencies. According to the relevant legislation, it consisted of six persons, namely, the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State, the Defence Secretary, the director of the CIA and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

However, when John Kennedy became president, he instituted the new post of the President's special assistant for national security affairs. But it was only under Richard Nixon that his special assistant Henry Kissinger was able to reorganize the NSC into a superbody staffed by 200 highly qualified specialists. The status of the President's special assistant for national security affairs was elevated to the point where it wielded more influence than most cabinet members. Kissinger turned the council into the President's personal foreign office, virtually overriding the State Department. ,

As Washington VIPs were unable to stomach this break with tradition, upon taking office, the Reagan Administration immediately announced that the special assistant for national security affairs would no longer draft or conduct policy, but merely coordinate it.

However, "Irangate" has shown that under Reagan the council's staff and its leaders are not only acting as the personal foreign office of the incumbent of the White House, but have even outranked the CIA. The council has encroached upon such a CIA "privilege" area as clandestine operations.

The NSC reaches its decisions in an atmosphere of top secrecy which under President Reagan has shrouded all his Administration's plans. Over the past six years the council has concealed important data even from the State Department, the Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It should be further noted that only the head of state can intervene in the activities of leading council staff employees closely associated with the President, in whose name they often speak and act. As a result, council staff are effectively accountable to nobody and have their hands completely free. They are exploiting this situation on a wide scale, selling arms to Iran, backing the Nicaraguan contras and mounting a campaign of intimidation and disinformation against Libya.

E. ANDRIANOV

"The truth and nothing but the truth!" Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter, the President's former special assistants for national security affairs, as well as their former subordinate Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, swear. But they either say nothing or confuse the case still more.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

To Keep the Dirty Linen Out of Sight

● EX-EMPEROR JEAN-BEDEL BOKASSA IS ON TRIAL IN BANGI, CAPITAL OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (C.A.R.).

This is his second trial. The first was in 1980 shortly after his dethronement by French troops. He then faced a 14-point indictment specifying the embezzlement of hundreds of millions of dollars from the national treasury, wholesale murder, public rape, the torture of minors and even cannibalism. He was sentenced to death, but not executed for the trial was held in absentia as he had taken refuge outside Paris. His name had already been forgotten when, to everyone's surprise, on October 23 he secretly left France and turned up in Bangi the following day. C.A.R. authorities arrested him immediately and he is now being tried in person.

Astonishment has been aroused in Bangi not only by the ex-emperor's voluntary return, but also by the unusual judicial procedure. The trial started on November 26, but after four hours of hearings it was postponed, supposedly to allow new evidence to be studied. But this was not the real reason for the postponement. Three days before the trial French lawyer François Gibault, whom newsmen, according to the Paris Jeune Afrique, have dubbed the "French government's special envoy," came in from Paris and insisted that the trial be delayed. His mission is to play down France's unsavoury role in the C.A.R. It is now attempting, according to the same magazine, to avoid "the public washing of dirty French linen" of which the C.A.R. has a superabundance.

Indeed, France has allocated to its erstwhile colony a crucial role in retaining its neocolonialist positions in Africa. It has a large military base there, where combat aircraft and some 1,500 paratroopers are stationed. To maintain its presence in the C.A.R., Paris shamelessly intervenes in its internal affairs, changing its presidents at its own discretion. One of these was Bokassa.

This puppet is a typical product of French neocolonialism. Paris nursed Bokassa. At one time he served in the French army. In 1960, when colonial rule in the C.A.R. was drawing to a close, he was appointed chief of staff of the army, while five years later, having usurped power with Paris's blessing, he became president. Of course, Paris was fully aware of what their creature had become, but he was tolerated until it was obvious that he had completely discredited his patrons, at which point it was decided to ostracize the degenerate "emperor."

At the trial it will be hard to suppress evidence of crass French interference in the C.A.R.'s internal affairs, the more so as Bokassa has declared that to vindicate himself he will tell the whole story.

Y. BOCHKARYOV

How Are Things, Compañeros?

VLADISLAV CHIRKOV

We Soviet people have special sentiments for Cuba, and with good reason: it is the only socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, a country following the same path as we are not by our side but thousands of miles away. How are the Cubans getting on over there, a mere 90 miles from the largest imperialist power? How are they getting on, 28 years after their victorious revolution?

By and large, not badly. All of them are decently shod and clad (the climate is warm), and women are quite elegant, as a French couturier visiting Cuba said. No one begs, no one is hungry, although the Cubans could do with more: some foodstuffs still are rationed.

There is virtually no illiteracy. A programme for the introduction of compulsory nine-year schooling is going ahead. While before the revolution Cuba had a mere three higher educational establishments, the figure today is about 50. More attention is now given to the quality of education: Cuban higher educational establishments no longer enroll students without entrance examinations, as was the case some time before owing to the serious shortage of specialists.

Cuba has actually caught up with the United States in average life expectancy, which is 73 years. Infant mortality has dropped to below 14 per 1,000 births, which is better than the target set by the World Health Organization for the year 2000.

As many as 12 people with heart transplants performed in Cuba were in good health on New Year's eve. One of them, Jorge Hernandez Ocaña, 39, has even returned to his old job at a tobacco factory in Havana.

In prowess in sport, Cuba is second only to the U.S. in the Western Hemisphere, judging by the results of the Pan-American games. Cuban boxers, track-and-field athletes, basketball, volleyball and baseball players have an excellent reputation in the sporting world.

The housing problem is still acute. Yet it is the Cubans who consider the situation unsatisfactory; most Latin American countries are far behind Cuba in this respect.

Though agriculture remains the dominant economic sector (with sugar cane as the main crop), the republic is already producing integral circuits and video terminals.

A Revolution Is Only Worth Anything If...

A revolution is only worth anything if it can defend itself. The Cuban revolution did not take long to learn to defend itself: slightly over two years after the triumph of the "barbudos," Cuban forces routed the invading bands at the Bay of Pigs in 72 hours.

Cuba has to keep its powder dry, which naturally takes up a sizable share of its budget. The republic has a strong army with modern weapons. Along with the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the troops of the Ministry of the Interior, there is territorial people's militia.

A revolution is only worth anything if it critically appraises itself. It should know its worth and not overestimate it either for propaganda purposes or for itself. Otherwise, the sense of reality dies.

Since the February session of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, openness, frankness and bold discussion of the more acute problems have begun to develop in the country's life. Fidel Castro emphasizes that it is necessary to tell people the truth and develop criticism and self-criticism. "Criticism should touch upon every aspect of the revolution, its progress, the use of material, and, most importantly, human resources, the development of the system of education and culture, the activities of broad-based public organizations and the work of the party and every official in a position of responsibility," Fidel Castro told Cuban journalists.

It was pointed out with the utmost frankness at the closing session of the Third Congress of the Communist Party in late November and early December that the financial and economic situation in the country still had adverse trends and that there were serious economic difficulties. Problems involved in the fulfilment of plan targets have lately made themselves felt and growth rates in some economic sectors have slowed down.

The newspaper Granma noted that in the past few months only 7 enterprises in Holguin Province, for instance, had boosted their profits, while 38 enterprises operating at a loss had sunk further into the red. The newspaper also pointed to poor progress in the fulfilment of plans for the introduction of scientific and technological achievements: only 9 of the 21 programmes in that field are being fulfilled.

In view of this situation, the congress empowered the Party Central Committee to revise the guidelines for the socio-economic development of the country for 1986-90, approved in February, at its next plenary meeting. Imports cleared in hard currency will have to be drastically reduced. Although Cuban leaders clearly point in their statements to the need for the people to make sacrifices, the more substantial plan targets will not be given up and every effort will be made to make progress.

Need for Correct Diagnosis

There have always been difficulties but recently they have begun to be discussed in the open with a view to identifying their root causes, for if an ailment is to be treated the most important thing is to find the correct diagnosis.

The causes of Cuba's difficulties are both objective and subjective.

The U.S. has imposed a strict economic embargo on Cuba and is determined to subvert her economic contacts with other Western countries. The situation on foreign markets is far from favourable, and roughly 15 per cent of the Cuban economy is oriented to the capitalist market. Falls in oil prices have detracted from Cuba's export revenue and thus affected the solvency of the republic and exacerbated the problem of its foreign indebtedness. A great deal of damage was done to the economy, especially agriculture, by the Hurricane Kate in 1985 while the 1986 drought, the worst in the past 27 years (with a mere

68 per cent of the average annual rainfall), is expected to continue to take its toll in 1987.

The Cubans have not succumbed to the temptation to explain away the difficulties solely by objective factors, such as market problems and natural adversities. They have concentrated on negative tendencies and abuses in public affairs, as well as errors and miscalculations.

In the early years after a victorious revolution, people who have rejected the capitalist system of slave labour tend to relax. "Many believe that doing away with the exploitation of man by man means doing away with the need to work," Fidel Castro complained.

A maternity home in Havana.

Photo by L. Yakutin

Cuba has not always succeeded in learning from mistakes made by others without repeating them. The Cuban economy, for instance, went through wage levelling, which badly affected the quality of output and production discipline. Why should anyone work hard if industrious and shoddy workers get virtually equal pay packets, and not very fat ones at that....

Work under the wage-levelling system would hardly have produced even the results it did if the shortage of incentive had not been offset by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the mass of the population. The Cubans have always been enthusiastic. I saw that for myself on my visits to the island some time ago. But the moral factor is not sustainable; it works better in extraordinary, critical situations. What is needed for day-to-day efforts of construction is a streamlined economic mechanism dovetailed to economic laws, in which enthusiasm is just a good lubricant.

Having drawn this conclusion, the Cubans started to introduce cost-accounting. Yet mistakes have arisen here as well. Before June last year, Granma reported, incentives to workers in the industrial plants of the capital had been outpacing labour productivity and resulting in a net loss for the state. "Work collectives are getting into the habit of earning two, three or four times more than they produce," Fidel Castro observed. Some industrial plants, seeking to become profitable or boost their profits and hence financial status, overpriced their output. Work at half capacity also made things easy for people. "An inflated work force at enterprises costs society dearly, because not only does input grow but three people come to do a job for one," Fidel Castro noted.

Addressing a congress of Cuban journalists in October, Fidel Castro said that at one point mistakes of an idealistic character had been made in Cuba and the trend towards levelling had taken hold. "But when these phenomena began to be redressed, we went to the other extreme and attached too much importance to incentive, forgetting that the main thing is to appeal to human consciousness." The Cuban leader took up this point at the party congress, denouncing attempts to resolve all problems through incentive and other deviations from socialist principles. The economic mechanism, he said, cannot replace the consciousness of the working people in the process of building socialism.

Efforts and Endeavour

A war on waste, mismanagement and red tape has now been launched in Cuba.

The newspaper Trabajadores said in early December that equipment, machine tools and other material resources supplied by the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries were being used inadequately in Cuba. It pointed to delays in installing imported equipment, poor production discipline among Cuban technical personnel, and misuse of specialists trained in the Soviet Union.

Special emphasis is now laid on redressing mistakes and eliminating negative phenomena, improving economic performance and effectively resolving the problems standing in the way of the country's advance to socialism. Much attention is attached to working with people so as to boost the human factor. The need is stressed to fight irresponsibility. Trabajadores noted numerous breaches of labour discipline, especially by industrial managers. Fidel Castro said that there still were "irresponsible, spineless, apathetic people who only seek personal privileges. There are people wanting more money and willing to get it dishonestly, through black marketeering and other illegal transactions." An extraordinary meeting of the Pinar del Rio Province Executive Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba noted that about 13,000 young men and women in the province were not doing any socially useful work. The party is urging greater efforts to block unearned incomes and to ensure a better application of the principle of remuneration according to work.

More stringent demands are being made on personnel. Those who do not cope with their duties are removed regardless of past services. Sixty-two per cent of deputies to the municipal assemblies were replaced in elections last October and more than half of the deputies of the new National Assembly, the supreme legislative body of the republic, have been elected for the first time.

The press is sounding more and more businesslike and concrete. Newspapers are urging improvements in the organization of production and the system of remuneration, advocating new forms of incentive to socialist competition, and better use of work time, cuts in inflated personnel, a fight against red tape, savings of power and fuel and a war on waste in farming. The task has been set of expanding oil production, including offshore oil extraction, building miniature hydropower plants in distant and mountain areas, and priority investment with a view to reducing imports and boosting exports.

* * *

The task set by the party to the Cuban people today is not merely to prove that socialism is superior to capitalism in the organization of education and health care, but also to show that Communists are capable of resolving their problems far more efficiently than capitalists are. It is a very difficult task, but it is equal to our lofty ideals. And the spirit of renovation pervading Cuba today is a guarantee that it will be accomplished.

■

Economic restructuring
in the socialist countries

Speeding Up Advance

Academician OLEG BOGOMOLOV,
director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute
of the Economy of the Socialist World System

The positions of the socialist countries in the world economy are primarily determined by their production, scientific and technical potential, the dynamics of their economic growth. Between 1971 and 1985 the total national income of the socialist countries increased on the average by 5.2 per cent a year, and in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) by 4.6 per cent. The corresponding figures for the industrialized capitalist states and the developing nations were 2.9 and 4.9 per cent.

Extensive Growth

In the last 15 years the proportion of the socialist countries in the world's output of electricity went up from 23 to 27 per sent, oil from 18 to 28 per cent, gas from 22 to 39, steel from 30 to 38, mineral fertilizers from 33 to 45 per cent, metal-cutting lathes from 39 to 53, tractors from 47 to 58 per cent, and so on. Yet the proportion of the socialist countries in the world's output of most advanced materials and high-technology products was appreciably lower than the proportion of their basic industries.

In the same period, however, economic efficiency, the expenditure of fuel, energy and materials per unit of output in the socialist countries and their proportion in world trade did not improve and even worsened as compared with world average indices. In the European member countries of CMEA, for instance, power and metal consumption per unit of output is approximately 40 and 60-70 per cent higher on the average than in the European Economic Community while labour productivity is roughly 60 per cent of that in the EEC states.

There is still a considerable gap between the economic development levels of the socialist countries. The ratio of per capita national income in the less and more developed socialist countries (China and Vietnam, and Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic) is about 1 to 5. A marked gap in the rates of economic growth exists not only between these two groups of countries but also between the European member states of CMEA.

Compared with other socialist countries, the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.) has achieved the best results in the intensification of its economy. Between 1981 and 1986 its national income steadily increased by 4.5 per cent a year, more than in any other European socialist country. Agricultural labour productivity has risen in Hungary, the G.D.R., Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Hungary's agro-industrial complex has a vast export potential. Czechoslovakia is practically self-sufficient in basic foods, while the G.D.R. and Poland have substantially cut their food imports. However, in the Soviet Union and a number of other CMEA countries agriculture does not yet meet the growing demand of the population in food.

Policy of Restructuring

In most European socialist countries economic growth slowed down appreciably in the 1970s and early 1980s as a result of objective changes in the conditions of reproduction and because the economic policy and management had not been timely adapted to these changes.

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party became a radical step towards working out a new economic strategy. It set the objective of accelerating the social and economic development of the country and attaining the world's heights in labour productivity and in scientific and technological progress.

The restructuring of the economy on a new technical basis will eventually lead to a marked growth of the efficiency of production and of the national income. At the same time the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows that mistakes in structural policy cost them dearly and that the quality of planning is a matter of exceptional importance.

Other levers of growth, requiring no big investment or additional manpower, are being brought into action. For instance, a return on investment can be increased primarily by modernizing the available production capacities, and not building new ones, by saving power and resources, and not expanding the output of fuel and raw materials, though this must be done too.

The reorganization of the economic mechanism (an extensive reform of this mechanism in the Soviet Union) and mobilization of the creative energies of the people should become a decisive instrument of economic acceleration at its first stage. It is hardly possible to estimate today in terms of output to what extent the introduction of a more flexible management will accelerate Soviet economic growth. Harder still is it to estimate the economic effect to be brought by a new attitude of people to work ensuing from consistent implementation of the principles of social justice. It can be supposed that these changes will play a no smaller part in the acceleration of our development than new machines and technology.

Most countries of CMEA are planning a modest increase of their economic growth rates in 1986-90. During this period the total national income of the European members of CMEA exclusive of the Soviet Union is expected to rise by 3-4 per cent a year. These countries are laying emphasis on the balanced growth of their economies and foreign ties, on the improvement of qualitative rather than quantitative parameters of

---

It is the first in a series of articles on world economics and trade and credit and monetary relations we are going to publish regularly in the new year. The analysis of economic problems of the socialist world economy will be followed by surveys on the economic situation in the developing and in the industrialized capitalist countries.

development. More capital will be invested and the share of accumulation in the national income raised in those countries where it has dropped noticeably in the past few years. Modernization of the economies of the CMEA countries, of their economic structures will increasingly help to speed up their development.

The initial positive results in carrying out its economic stabilization programme have been achieved by Yugoslavia, where economic growth was an estimated four per cent last year.

The past few years have seen a rapidly growing role of China in the economy of the world community and of its socialist part. Compared with other great powers, China has the highest rate of economic growth. Between 1981 and 1985 its national income grew on the average by 9.9 per cent a year, industrial output by 10.7 per cent, and agricultural output by 11.4 per cent. An equally dynamic growth was observed in the expansion of China's foreign economic ties. Such a rapid growth is attributed to deep-going positive changes in the social life of the country, in the economic reform that was initiated in the rural areas and is now being gradually introduced in industry and all other spheres of the economy.

The reorganization in China is not plain sailing, of course. Baneful inflationary tendencies have appeared in particular, and social differentiation has increased. The supply of industry with fuel and raw materials is insufficient. A big balance of payments deficit has arisen. All this compels Chinese leaders to modify the economic policy and curb investment and the rates of growth lest the economy become overheated.

The level of economic development still remains very low, of course. But China with its one billion population and considerable natural resources has a vast potential for growth. The leaders of that great country have learned a great deal from the stern lessons of the past. The experience acquired by them lessens the probability of serious economic miscalculations in the future and helps to plan a doubling of the national income by the end of the century. The Chinese economy will grow increasingly open, and the country is to become a large exporter and importer of a wide range of goods.

Collective Experience of Socialist Countries

Many socialist countries are today faced with largely similar problems of improving the economic management. This once again proves that modern socialism has tendencies and laws of development common for all countries which have chosen it, and this fact must not be ignored. Moreover, deviation from the common laws of the new society, violation of these laws created difficulties in the social and economic spheres and even crisis situations in separate socialist countries.

Lenin never considered the transition of different countries to socialism to be a uniform process. Complete socialism, he wrote, will be created by international cooperation, a series of attempts each of which will inevitably be one-sided and insufficient, but it is the sum of these attempts, the generalization of collective experience that will produce an optimal model of a new society.

This is a well-known truth. However, in economic practice little attention is still paid to an analysis of the diverse forms and methods of socialist reform. Yet such an analysis is very important because the multiformity of present-day socialism reflects the diversity of national state interests of individual countries, and these interests should be taken into account in the same way as the common needs of development of the socialist world.

Such a need today is the joint use of the advantages offered by the internationalization of economic life. In the socialist world system, where the principal social aims of its countries coincide, this internationalization brings considerable material and other benefits for each of them. This is evident from the integration of socialist countries within the framework of CMEA.

Reserves of Integration

The interaction and mutual complementing of national economies have reached a degree where the progress of each of them depends on the progress of integration cooperation. It may be recalled, for instance, that the value of the exchanged goods and services on the market of CMEA constitues about one fifth of the total national income of its member countries.

The decisions of the CMEA economic summit held in 1984 and the comprehensive programme for scientific and technical progress of the CMEA states till the year 2000, adopted at the end of 1985, became milestones in the integration cooperation. In line with these decisions large-scale agreements and programmes are being drawn up or carried out for multilateral cooperation in machine building, electronics, power generation and the saving of resources. The coordination of plans for 1986-90 has in the main solved big problems related to the supply of the CMEA states with fuel and raw materials. One of

RATES OF GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME AND INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

(per cent of the previous year)

	national income			industrial output		
	1984	1985	1986 (estimate)	1984	1985	1986 (estimate)
All socialist countries	5.2	5.1	4.7	7.1	7.6	5.2
CMEA states	3.6	3.6	4.2	4.4	3.9	4.7
Bulgaria	4.6	1.7	5.5	4.2	3.2	4.3
Hungary	2.7	—0.9	1.5	2.8	0.9	1.2
Vietnam	5.8	3.7	...	16.9	13.6	...
G.D.R.	5.5	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.4	3.8
Cuba	6.1	4.2	3.0	10.8	4.0	2.0
Mongolia	4.5	5.4	5.6	9.0	7.8	7.3
Poland	5.8	3.2	4.0	5.2	4.5	4.4
Romania	7.7	6.0	7.0	7.4	5.2	7.0
U.S.S.R.	3.2	3.5	4.2	4.1	3.9	4.9
Czechoslovakia	2.9	3.3	3.3	3.9	3.6	3.1
China	13.5	12.3	6.0	14.0	18.0	8.0
Yugoslavia	1.7	0.4	4.0	6.0	3.0	4.0

FOREIGN TRADE TURNOVER OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

(per cent of the previous year, at current prices)

	1984	1985	1986 (estimate)
Bulgaria	8.6	7.4	5.0
Hungary	8.8	0.6	5.0
G.D.R.	8.4	3.6	1.0
Cuba	8.0	9.6	...
Mongolia	7.4	8.0	5.0
Poland	12.5	7.2	3.0
Romania	13.1	2.5	...
U.S.S.R	9.6	1.3	—8.0
Czechoslovakia	10.2	5.3	3.0
China	22.8	30.0	10.0
Yugoslavia	3.7	2.2	—1.0

the ways to meet these needs is pooling the efforts of different countries in the construction of fuel- and raw-material-producing complexes. About 400 Soviet organizations and over 1,000 plants and organizations in other CMEA countries are involved in implementing the comprehensive programme for scientific and technical progress.

The experience gained until now helps to tap new reserves for extended integration linked primarily with an improvement of the quality, technical standards and competitive power of many products and with a bigger supply of goods scarce on the CMEA market. In the 1970s and 1980s the volume of products conforming to world qualitative and technical standards did not increase in reciprocal exchange while the proportion of foods and consumer goods dropped. The rates of growth of reciprocal trade will go up in the future and begin to outstrip more than ever the economic growth of the countries concerned.

The CMEA states are faced today not only with the task of a more flexible coordination of their economic policies at government level, but also with the need to draw immediate designers and producers of new equipment into international cooperation and to facilitate direct contractual ties between them. Now that technology is making rapid progress, the effectiveness and the dynamics of growth of international specialization and co-production increasingly depend on the mechanism of direct ties.

To give a fresh impetus to socialist integration, the Soviet Union has taken steps to reorganize the management of its foreign economic activity. Implementation of the relevant decisions adopted by the Party and the government last August is expected to overcome the gap between industry and foreign trade and to make factories interested in raising the efficiency of export and import. Some other countries of CMEA are reorganizing their foreign economic mechanisms, and the international mechanism of cooperation and activity of CMEA bodies themselves is to be revamped. The policy of extended integration within the framework of CMEA is combined with the desire of its member countries to expand mutually beneficial cooperation with other socialist states. Such cooperation with China has been growing especially rapidly in the past few years.

Any brief survey of the economic situation in the socialist world naturally omits some aspects and concrete facts but emphasizes the main thing—despite the numerous problems the process of intensification and reorganization of the economy is gaining strength in the socialist countries. ■

Heading for Early Elections?

LEONID POPOV

What has been the trend in domestic political life in Italy over the past three or four months? What does the phrase "passing the baton in March 1987" mean? Is Italy on its way to pre-term parliamentary elections?

The current situation in Italy is a product of the June 1986 government crisis which ended in the restoration of the five-party cabinet comprising Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals, with only insignificant changes. Contrary to the Constitution, which authorizes the President of the Republic and parliament to set the government's term of office, the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) and the Christian Democrats (CDP) agreed that Bettino Craxi, a Socialist, would head the cabinet on condition that his term of office ended in March 1987, whereupon the reins of government would be taken over by a CDP representative. It was this agreement that was dubbed "passing the baton."

The compromise the chief partners in the ruling coalition reached did not resolve the differences between the five parties; all it amounted to was the choice of the lesser of two evils. The move precluded pre-term parliamentary elections, which promised no substantial changes, and furnished fresh evidence of the fact that the majority parties were not interested in solving acute economic and social problems. Their purpose was to keep their own positions and, at the very least, maintain the present status quo in ruling quarters.

Socialists and Christian Democrats clash over a wide range of issues, some of them delicate ones like appointments of bank presidents, plant directors and media executives; over various aspects of financial and social policy, and relations with representatives of private industrial and financial capital.

The events of the autumn of 1986 did not ease tension. Interparty differences showed in parliamentary discussions of the budget and fiscal legislation, education, housing and taxation policy, appointments to executive posts in financial institutions, and, last but not least, Italy's arms sales and its connection with the clandestine U.S. arms supplies to Iran via the port of Talamone.

The government sustained two serious setbacks in parliament in mid-November. The draft budgets of the Education and Defence ministries were voted down. Altogether, Craxi's two latest cabinets have lost the parliamentary vote to the opposition almost 200 times in the course of their period in office.

The latest defeat showed that the conflict in the coalition involves not only Socialists and Christian Democrats, but the Republican Party as well (Minister of Defence Giovanni Spadolini is Political Secretary of the Italian Republican Party). As a result, the leader of the Republican Party has assessed the present state of the coalition as "extremely poor." He said outright that the July agreements (on the formation of the government) were not being observed and that the five-party coalition was "in a coma."

The Social Democrats poured oil on the flames. Franco Nicolazzi, the ISDP's Political Secretary and Minister of Public Works, warned the government that his party would walk out unless measures were taken, within three months, towards the solution of the acute housing problem. The dispute over the taxation issue between Republicans, on the one hand, and Christian Democrats and Liberals, on the other, is not dying down.

At the same time, developments in the giuntas—local organs of government—are clearly getting out of the ruling parties' centralized control (in Italian political life every city, province and region is a rather accurate, if complex barometer of public sentiments).

The Milan giunta had a hard time overcoming a crisis caused by acute interparty differences on how to set about solving the problems of the country's second largest city. Lacking any programme, the giunta, knocked together in haste over a year ago on the central government's five-party pattern, fell apart, but was restored in December.

Developments in the southern region of Calabria came as a complete surprise to political circles. For the first time since the end of the war, Christian Democrats stayed away from its giunta (elected on November 13) and went over to the opposition.

It would be a simplification to say that all these events stem from the political will of this or that party's leadership only, to reduce the conflict between Christian Democrats and Socialists (as the local press occasionally does) to the personal rivalry between their leaders.

The essence of the crisis lies much deeper than that. It has its roots in the complex economic and social situation which continues to change under the influence of many factors.

Since the different parties in the government coalition represent the interests of different groups of the bourgeoisie (though not always and not necessarily big business groups), the interests and positions of these parties themselves frequently clash, producing repercussions on various scales.

The socio-economic policy of Italy and some other West European countries was marked in the first half of the 1980s by a changeover from the concept of the "welfare state" to the practice of neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism, i.e., of direct state support for the most powerful economic and financial groupings. Under the specific conditions prevailing in Italy, this support manifested itself in the state's investing heavily in the private sector so as to support and strengthen powerful capitalist groups and private capital as a whole. The result, Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, pointed out, was a vicious circle with the enrichment of the private sector being directly proportional to the impoverishment of the public sector.

This is accompanied by a change in the balance of forces between the biggest Italian capitalist groups, as well as between industrialists and bankers (clearly in favour of the latter). The firm FIAT is markedly coming to play an increasingly important role in the Italian economy and, consequently, in politics. Quite recently FIAT took over the well-known automobile company Alfa Romeo from the public sector. Three private companies—FIAT, Olivetti and Ferruzzi (the latter making a strong bid for the third place) control over fifty per cent of marketable securities—something unprecedented in Italy and, for that matter, in the rest of the industrialized West. This means not so much concentration of production as that of control over the country's finance.

Neo-conservative trends based on the postulates of Reaganomics, once current in the U.S. and Western Europe, are now on the wane. The scientific and technological revolution and increasingly acute social antagonisms are compelling ruling quarters in Western Europe to seek new forms of government.

Consequently, the contradictions that meet the eye on the surface of Italy's political life are symptoms of deep-seated economic and social changes. Under the circumstances, whether pre-term parliamentary elections are held depends not so much on the extent to which interparty differences in the government coalition intensify (although this is a factor of no small importance in itself) as on what alternative the leading monopoly groupings and the ruling circles offer to the policy and practice of neo-conservatism. The choice of this alternative will depend on international developments as well.

It will be recalled that the growth of neo-conservative tendencies in Italy and elsewhere was virtually parallelled in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the aggravation of the international situation and the crisis of détente provoked by the imperialist quarters. Contrarywise, the events of the mid-1970s showed that an improvement in the international situation makes for the broader international contacts and offers ample scope for vigorous action by those championing democratic reforms in the country.

Political life continues to be extremely active in Italy. Its ruling quarters are showing realism on a number of issues, for instance in their approach to certain international problems. This bears witness to the popularity of the demands for change being put forward by the forces of democracy.

■

Unita spells unity, for after an overly long schism, Italy's leading labour centres are again more frequently coming out in a united front against the proprietors.

From Rassegna sindacale (Italy)

● AVIATION

VOYAGER FEAT

It took Jeana Yeager and Dick Rutan, two professional American pilots, nine days aboard the Voyager to fly non-stop round the world without refuelling. On December 23 the Voyager landed on the airfield in the Mojave Desert, California, from which it had taken off.

The Voyager's crew set three world records: absolute distance, distance in a straight line, and distance in a closed circuit. Many did not believe that the trip would end successfully, the more so as at the press conference after a trial five-day flight Jeana had blacked out. Doctors said this was due to great nervous stress. Indeed, the engine noise, constant jolting, hard seats and unusual circumstances make the flight anything but a tourist journey.

Despite the range of technical improvements in the Voyager's design, the nine-day round the world flight presented a still greater ordeal for both nerves and machine. However, the precise computerized engineering and the high competence of the two pilots overcame all difficulties, and there was no need to resort either to the light rescue raft capable of keeping two afloat for 24 hours, or to a crash landing.

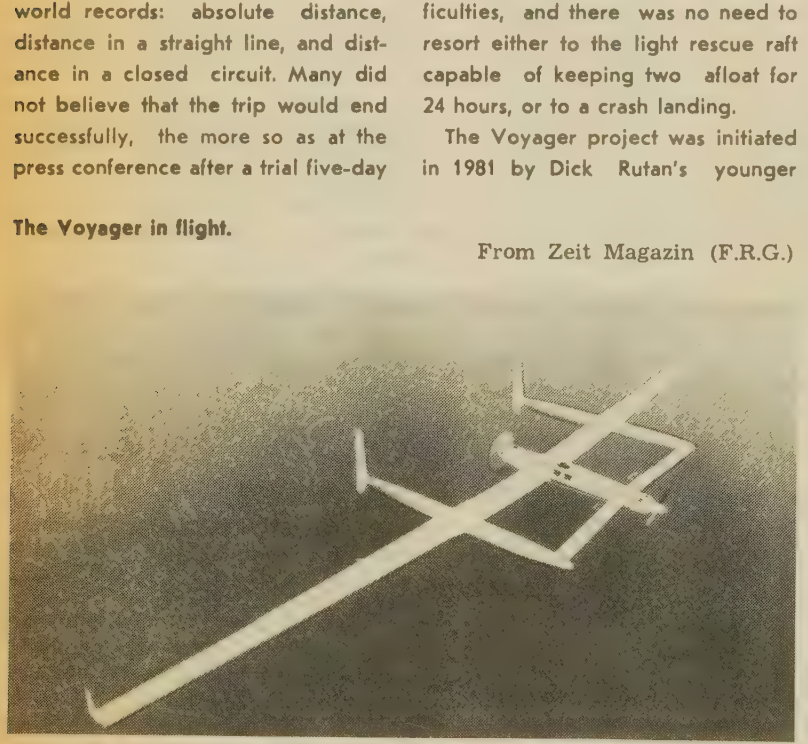
The Voyager project was initiated in 1981 by Dick Rutan's younger brother, Burt, a professional aircraft engineer. He believes progress in aviation depends not so much on engine power, as on the plane's components and design. The main objective, which the two brothers managed to achieve, was to have the Voyager take on board some four tons of fuel, or ten times the plane's net weight.

It was the factor of 4.2 tons of petrol to the 437 kilogrammes the plane weighed that made the non-stop round the world flight possible without refuelling. However, this was also a danger. Newspapers commented that it was not a plane but a petrol bomb, when reporting the complex factors that could affect the Voyager upon takeoff. After all, the hazards of takeoff, manoeuvre or surprise landing in the case of passenger aircraft when tanks are loaded with fuel, are common knowledge. However Burt Rutan had not made a mistake. Incidentally, he drew his first rough design of the Voyager on a paper napkin in a cafeteria, and it differed little from the blueprint of the actual plane built five years later in hangar No. 77 at the Mojave airfield.

True, it took twice as long as the brothers had thought to build the plane. For a considerable time they were unable to find a firm to subsidize their enterprise. A Japanese cigarette tycoon said he would do so if the body of the plane ad-

From Zeit Magazin (F.R.G.)

The Voyager in flight.



● WATER SUPPLY

WITHOUT DIGGING UP THE PAVEMENT

Every city dweller has been irked by the din of pneumatic drills and seen dug-up pavements, whenever repairs are undertaken on, for instance, the water mains. This causes great inconvenience as well as being costly. Metal's eternal and perfidious foe, corrosion is to blame. Until recently no means taken to safeguard pipes from corrosion helped much. Pipes became unusable due to rust every ten years on average.

Now the Yuzhvodoprovod Trust of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Water Management has come up with a novel, highly efficient technique for cleaning, repairing and maintaining pipes based on the hydrobarodynamic effect using a flexible hose. To rid a pipe of harmful accumulations a specially designed projectile is inserted and moved along by means of a jet of liquid or gas. As it moves, the projectile sucks in accumulations from the inner wall. Next, the scrubbed walls are coated with an inhibitor to produce a sturdy anti-corrosive film. The new technique is far more reliable and economical than anything else in use worldwide. Its application has already effected savings running to 42 million rubles.

vertized his w
al Japanese
the brothers
They acquired
struments, c
equipment fro
firms. Only w
almost finishe
companies ag
flight.

● COMMUNI

CHEAP, R
UNTAPPA

The new te
to link the Ne
will be over
allow for 40,0
atlantic perso
against the
while, with e
more people
Atlantic, but th
change of c
which is likew
phone. Howev
ordinary copp

The problem
fibre optic cab
appeared. The
are small size,
dous capacity,
quality of sou

Two cable-layi

70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

JULY

MO.		6	13	20	27	
TU.		7	14	21	28	
WE.	1	8	15	22	29	
TH.	2	9	16	23	30	
FR.	3	10	17	24	31	
SA.	4	11	18	25		
SU.	5	12	19	26		

AUGUST

MO.	3	10	17	24	31	
TU.	4	11	18	25		
WE.	5	12	19	26		
TH.	6	13	20	27		
FR.	7	14	21	28		
SA.	1	8	15	22	29	
SU.	2	9	16	23	30	

SEPTEMBER

MO.		7	14	21	28	
TU.	1	8	15	22	29	
WE.	2	9	16	23	30	
TH.	3	10	17	24		
FR.	4	11	18	25		
SA.	5	12	19	26		
SU.	6	13	20	27		

OCTOBER

MO.		5	12	19	26	
TU.		6	13	20	27	
WE.		7	14	21	28	
TH.	1	8	15	22	29	
FR.	2	9	16	23	30	
SA.	3	10	17	24	31	
SU.	4	11	18	25		

NOVEMBER

MO.	2	9	16	23	30	
TU.	3	10	17	24		
WE.	4	11	18	25		
TH.	5	12	19	26		
FR.	6	13	20	27		
SA.	7	14	21	28		
SU.	1	8	15	22	29	

DECEMBER

MO.		7	14	21	28	
TU.	1	8	15	22	29	
WE.	2	9	16	23	30	
TH.	3	10	17	24	31	
FR.	4	11	18	25		
SA.	5	12	19	26		
SU.	6	13	20	27		

January 1 — New Year; March 8 — International Women's Day; May 1 — Day of International Solidarity of Working People; May 9 — Victory Day; October 7 — Constitution Day; November 7 — 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

NEW TIMES

1987

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ
TEMPS NOUVEAUX
NEUE ZEIT
TIEMPOS NUEVOS
TEMPOS NOVOS
NOWE CZASY
NOVÁ DOBA

JANUARY

MO.		5	12	19	26	
TU.		6	13	20	27	
WE.		7	14	21	28	
TH.	1	8	15	22	29	
FR.	2	9	16	23	30	
SA.	3	10	17	24	31	
SU.	4	11	18	25		

FEBRUARY

MO.	2	9	16	23		
TU.	3	10	17	24		
WE.	4	11	18	25		
TH.	5	12	19	26		
FR.	6	13	20	27		
SA.	7	14	21	28		
SU.	1	8	15	22		

MARCH

MO.	2	9	16	23	30	
TU.	3	10	17	24	31	
WE.	4	11	18	25		
TH.	5	12	19	26		
FR.	6	13	20	27		
SA.	7	14	21	28		
SU.	1	8	15	22	29	

APRIL

MO.		6	13	20	27	
TU.		7	14	21	28	
WE.	1	8	15	22	29	
TH.	2	9	16	23	30	
FR.	3	10	17	24		
SA.	4	11	18	25		
SU.	5	12	19	26		

MAY

MO.		4	11	18	25	
TU.		5	12	19	26	
WE.		6	13	20	27	
TH.		7	14	21	28	
FR.	1	8	15	22	29	
SA.	2	9	16	23	30	
SU.	3	10	17	24	31	

JUNE

MO.	1	8	15	22	29	
TU.	2	9	16	23	30	
WE.	3	10	17	24		
TH.	4	11	18	25		
FR.	5	12	19	26		
SA.	6	13	20	27		
SU.	7	14	21	28		

arried sever-
s. However,
his offer.
ecessary in-
s and other
Californian
plane was
major aircraft
bsidize the

LE,

cable that is
Old worlds
n.-long and
neous trans-
n calls, as
000. Mean-
not only do
ik across the
lso more ex-
information,
ted by tele-
apacity of
s limited.

lved when
laser pulses,
ges of this
ght, tremen-
apness. The
so good and

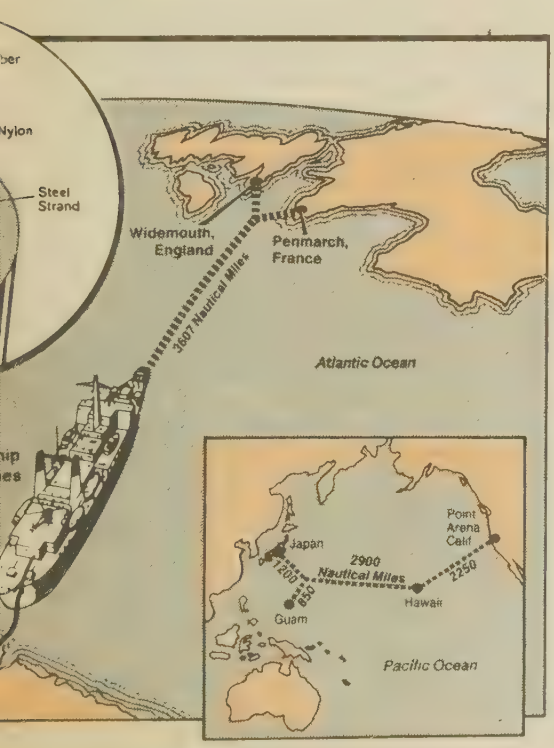
all mistakes in transmitting computerized data are ruled out. Finally, fibre-optic cable ensures confidentiality, as such telephone conversations cannot be tapped. Foreign experts say the cable is even immune to the destructive factors of nuclear weaponry; no wonder it is so widely used in military hardware.

A consortium of British, French and U.S. firms dominated by the mammoth American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, ATT, will lay the cable on the Atlantic seabed. As fibre-optic cable is as sturdy as metal cable, it may be laid directly upon the sea floor. With the 180 km.-wide U.S. off-shore continental shelf seen as the major difficulty, a special submarine robot manipulator will dig a trench of the required length, the cable will be deposited therein and covered with sand to afford a reliable protection against rock or fishing nets.

There are plans to lay a second transatlantic cable with double the capacity by 1991. Also mooted is a project to link America with Japan and the Philippines by a similar fibre-optic cable, which could be completed by 1989.

ects and the wonder-cable itself.

From the International Herald Tribune (U.S.A.)



● ARCHITECTURE

THE EIFFEL TOWER OF SPACE

The latticed structure of the Eiffel Tower has pierced the sky over Paris for almost a hundred years. Its daring architecture and stupendous dimensions have made it a symbol of the brilliance of 19th-century engineering. But though many have seen it, it is not accessible to everyone. So to mark its centenary a new "wonder" is to be built that everyone will be able to appreciate.

When the French capital's tallest structure was built, it needed 15,000 metal parts and two and a half million rivets. The new project is every bit as complex. It will consist of a plastic ring, 24 kilometres in circumference, attached to which will be discs that reflect the sunrays. This "toy" is to be put into orbit in 1989 to enable everyone, in Delhi, Peking, Cairo or wherever, to admire it.

The three designers of the project (which came first of the 99 entered in the respective competition)—two architects Alain Coquet and Jerome Gerber and scientist Jean-Pierre Pommereau—have already met with protest and resistance. So did the Eiffel Tower in its time. It is said that Guy de Maupassant, loth to see "this monstrosity," dined in the Tower's restaurant, the only place from which he was spared a view of it. Opponents of the new project will have to be happy in the knowledge that after three years in orbit the structure will self-destruct.

● ASTRONOMY

STELLAR TWOSOME

Processing satellite data, astronomers at the Darmstadt observatory in the F.R.G. noted unusual X-ray emissions from a source catalogued as 4U 1820-30. Their nature led to the conjecture that they came from a binary star system whose outer rotating star uninterruptedly sheds energy and matter to its rapacious neutron companion in the centre. The astronomers have concluded that the two stars are only 130,000 km. apart, less than the distance from the earth to the moon.

The outer white dwarf, with an orbital period of 11.5 minutes, is a fading luminary that once possessed dimensions and mass equivalent to those of the sun, but which, having now expended virtually all its energy, is becoming a dying ember in the Universe. However, the dwarf star is still three times as large as the earth, while its density is several thousand times more than that of the sun.

The second member of the pair dancing in a thickly populated globular cluster 20,000 light years away, is a neutron star about 16 km. across. In terrestrial conditions, just a few cubic centimetres of its matter would weigh as much as 100,000 million tons, so great the density of this celestial body, all that remains of a larger burnt-out star.

By virtue of its stupendous gravity, the neutron star constantly tears from the surface of its companion vast masses of a gaseous substance, which it converts into a disc that revolves around it. Part of this substance continually spirals further towards the neutron star's surface: as a result in a single second it is bombarded with trillions of tons of matter causing explosions of incredible power that are responsible for the continuous X-ray emissions.

How are such pairs created in the Universe? The consensus is that they originate either when two previously unconnected stars collide or have a near miss.

Such stellar encounters are presumably not so rare in globular clusters. However, the West German astronomers are happy with their discovery, as hitherto nobody has identified a system in which the white dwarf is close enough to lose its mass to the inner neutron star.

The Coalition: Difficult First Months

Little-known wartime documents

Forty-five years ago, in the first weeks of the now distant year 1942, the great Battle of Moscow was nearing its culmination. It has gone down in history as the turning point in the war, blasting the myth of the invincibility of the Wehrmacht. The Soviet troops withstood the onslaughts of Field Marshal von Bock's tank and infantry divisions, did not falter under the blows of Field Marshal Kesselring's bombers and not only stopped the nazi offensive on the Soviet capital but dealt the enemy a crushing defeat. The nazi invaders were thrown back westward 100 and on some sectors, 250 kilometres.

But the Battle of Moscow does not belong only to military history. The first six months of the Great Patriotic War were also the time when the anti-Hitler coalition of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the U.S.A. was taking shape, that coalition which led to the Great Victory of 1945. It was a difficult, contradictory six months. For the verbal assurances of a desire to support the Soviet Union in its bloody, single-handed struggle with nazism were not always matched by deeds. More, these were often at variance with the solemn promises given.

It was a trying period, indeed a crucial period. For these dramatic weeks and months put an end not only to the legend, widespread in the West, of the invincibility of Hitler's armed forces, but also to the view, no less widespread in the capitalist world, that the Soviet Union was "a colossus on clay feet."

How the nazis initially assessed the strength of Soviet resistance is evident from the fact that a Wehrmacht parade in Moscow was planned for August 1941. Already in July preparations for the parade were in full swing: Himmler invited guests to Moscow for August 12. The nazi Foreign Ministry moved up the date slightly—to August 15. Later, a new date appeared—November 7. But how were the prospects assessed in the capitals of the countries that had promised the Soviet Union their support?

The present retrospect, based on hitherto little-known documents and records, relates to the initial months of the emergence of the anti-Hitler coalition.

Soviet historian Victor Malkov came across one such document in the U.S. Library of Congress.

It is an entry in the diary of the well-known U.S. diplomat Joseph E. Davies recording his talks with a man who played a prominent role during World War II—Harry L. Hopkins, special assistant to the U.S. President.

It is dated September 8, 1941. The nazi forces were on the approaches to Moscow, preparing for a final thrust against the Soviet capital. Hopkins had only recently returned from there. While in Moscow he had seen Stalin and had handed him a personal message from President Roosevelt. It was after his return to the U.S. that Davies made the above-mentioned entry in his diary. We reproduce it here with corrections in his own hand: Davies wanted to record Hopkins's judgement as accurately as possible. Besides, there is this special note by Davies:

"I sent Harry an edited copy of this memo.... Harry was fine about it.... He marvelled, he said, also how accurately and fully I had covered it."

Here is what Hopkins told Davies: "Hopkins's [own] opinion of the Red Army was that it had been [very] much underrated. I asked [him] why. [Generally speaking,][1] he said, the military attachés of the Western Powers, stationed in Moscow, had for years discounted the Red Army. Probably the only exception were Faymonville's reports. This was partly due to the fact that the government did not take the foreign military attachés into their confidence. The Soviets did not trust them. And also because of their attitude of superiority[2]. When claims were made as to the 40- or 60-ton tank as a Soviet achievement, these observers discounted it, and in their reports simply said it was not so. The Red Army was 'talked down' by the observers in all the capitals of Europe, because also that is what they wanted to hear.[3]

"Moscow, Hopkins, said, seemed relatively unconcerned with the war. Everything appeared to be going on as normal, except that women were working everywhere, and enormous supply camions filled with Red Cross and other supplies in interminable lines were moving out of Moscow to the front, all in an orderly fashion, each night. He was impressed with what must be the executive direction and planning behind this activity.

"The standard of living as indicated by clothes and food, he

[1] In the final version the words in parenthesis are deleted.

[2] This phrase was added by Davies in editing his text.

[3] Added in editing.

thought, was 50 per cent or less of what ours would be.

"Stalin had complete control over everyone in the U.S.S.R. through a system of food cards and food rations."

Davies, Hopkins, Faymonville. It is in place to dwell on these three names, figuring in the document, in order fully to appreciate the importance of Hopkins's assessments which were conveyed not only to Davies but to the U.S. President. They came to the knowledge also of Winston Churchill who met Harry Hopkins, fresh from Moscow, on board the battleship Prince of Wales on which they travelled to a meeting of the leaders of the two Western powers, that very meeting that ended with the signing of the Atlantic Charter.

But to return to June 1941.

Minimum of One Month, a Possible Maximum Three

What happened in the two main Western capitals after June 22, 1941? At that time all that the world knew was that as early as the evening of June 22, Sir Winston Churchill in a radio speech promised the Soviet Union all the help Britain could give. The United States which had not yet entered the war and remained neutral was more reserved, but let it be understood that its sympathies were with the Soviet Union. On July 12, 1941, Britain and the U.S.S.R. concluded an agreement on joint action in the war against Germany. However, implementation of the agreement proceeded slowly, coming up against all kinds of hitches. We know now what these hitches were.

The U.S. and British leaders asked military experts for their opinion about the Soviet Union's capacity to resist. U.S. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox said Hitler would knock Russia out within six weeks to two months. He was not alone in this assessment. The British military experts said:

"It is possible that the first phase, involving the occupation of the Ukraine and Moscow, might take as little as three, or as long as six weeks, or more."

Sir John Dill, chief of the Imperial General Staff, was more explicit. The Germans, he predicted, would go through Russia "like a hot knife through butter." It would be foolish, he said, to count on more than six or seven weeks.

The most detailed assessment was contained in a memorandum to the President submitted by Secretary of War Henry Stimson in June 1941.

"For the past thirty hours I have done little but reflect upon the German-Russian war and its effect upon our immediate policy. To clarify my own views I have spent today in conference with the Chief of Staff and the men in the War Plans Division of the General Staff....

"First: Here is their estimate of controlling facts:

1. Germany will be thoroughly occupied in beating Russia for a minimum of one month and a possible maximum of three months...."

Further, the Minister expressed the opinion that Germany would now lay aside all other military plans. Hence Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. should be considered "providential."

And so, at least one, at most three months. Perhaps the American and British military experts were too far removed from the scene of hostilities to be able to judge the situation properly? The fact is, however, that the Western diplomats stationed at the time in Moscow were of the same opinion. Summing up the substance of reports coming from Moscow, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden observed that the prevailing opinion among the diplomats accredited to Moscow was that Russia would not be able to hold out against Germany for more than three or four weeks.

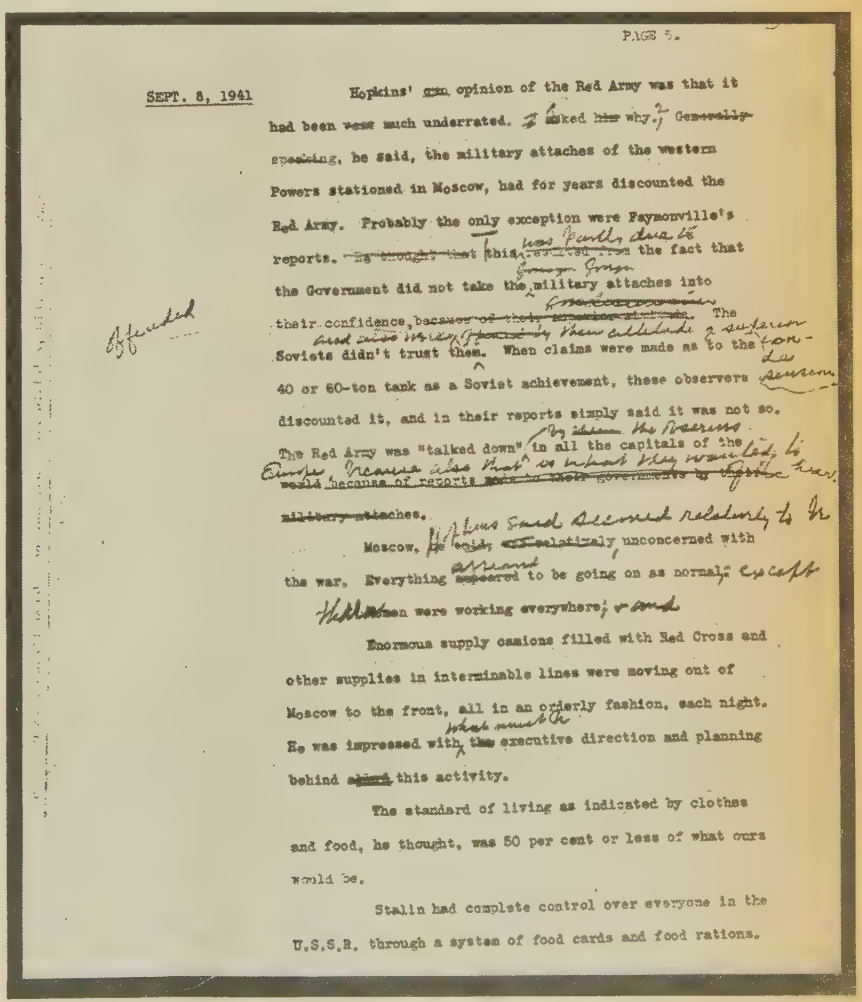
Speaking in late July of the situation on the Soviet-German front, Lawrence A. Steinhardt, U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., observed that it would be too much to expect the Soviet Army to be able to hold the Moscow-Leningrad-Kiev line indefinitely against the heavy onslaught of the German forces. He believed, however, that a line considerably west of the Urals could be held.

As for the professional American anti-communists, Hitler's victory was eagerly awaited in those quarters from day to day.

Clash of Opinions

But were all the American prognostications of the same order? No, the

Facsimile of the entry made in Joseph Davies' diary on September 8, 1941.



PAGE 5.

SEPT. 8, 1941

Hopkins' opinion of the Red Army was that it had been much underrated. I asked why. Generally speaking, he said, the military attaches of the western Powers stationed in Moscow, had for years discounted the Red Army. Probably the only exception were Faymonville's reports. This was partly due to the fact that the Government did not take the military attaches into their confidence. The Soviets didn't trust them. When claims were made as to the 40 or 60-ton tank as a Soviet achievement, these observers discounted it, and in their reports simply said it was not so. The Red Army was "talked down" in all the capitals of the world because of reports

military attaches.

Moscow, he said, seemed relatively unconcerned with the war. Everything appeared to be going on as normal; except men were working everywhere; and

Enormous supply camions filled with Red Cross and other supplies in interminable lines were moving out of Moscow to the front, all in an orderly fashion, each night. He was impressed with the executive direction and planning behind this activity.

The standard of living as indicated by clothes and food, he thought, was 50 per cent or less of what ours would be.

Stalin had complete control over everyone in the U.S.S.R. through a system of food cards and food rations.

White House and the U.S. War Department had other information at their disposal. It had been received before the war.

In November 1936 a new United States Ambassador arrived in Moscow. He was Joseph E. Davies, a man who enjoyed the confidence of the President. He was in the Soviet Union until June 1938 and in this time he had come to see how mistaken was the condescending attitude of his colleagues as regards the potential of the Soviet Union. He did not hesitate to voice his own views on this score. Writing to the then U.S. Secretary of War Harry Woodring in the autumn of 1937, he said that the Soviet Union was a factor of world peace and its role in this sense was steadily growing. Objectivity and accuracy in analyzing information about its internal situation were of value to the U.S. government, he stressed.

It is noteworthy that the reason for this memorandum was the need to defend Colonel Philip Faymonville, then military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Faymonville had been in Russia before—during the American intervention in Siberia—and had evidently drawn some lessons from that deplorable episode. He received his new appointment in 1933. Here are a few of the confidential reports Faymonville sent from Moscow: [4]

October 16, 1937. "It may be concluded that the socialist economy, which prevails in the Soviet Union, through its complete control of all the industry of the nation, provides the essential industrial support for the military plans, which have been decided upon by the government. Industry has been so organized as to make available for military use any required share of the raw materials, productive capacity and manpower of the nation."

October 21, 1937. "It does not seem probable that war conditions will bring any change in this most fundamental of all socialist principles: public ownership of the means of production."

November 15, 1937. "Of all the industries in the Soviet Union, the munitions industry both in peace and war is regarded as the most essential. If physically possible the requirements of the munitions industry would be met, no matter what happened to other branches of industry."

June 13, 1938. "In conclusion, the following appear to be important characteristic factors of Soviet aviation: It is excellently organized as separate units.... Its personnel is numerous and from the several thousands of trained pilots, many hundreds have been developed into highly skilled aviators capable of undertaking any mission in warfare."

The general conclusion to be drawn from these reports is that Faymonville had a high opinion of the combat preparedness of the Red Army. He believed that it was the only force capable of withstanding the Hitlerites. Joseph E. Davies was of the same opinion in 1941 as well. He persistently advised the President not to heed prejudiced assessments.

[4] Victor Malkov found them in U.S. archives.

Harry Hopkins arrives in Moscow. From left to right in the foreground are Solomon Lozovsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Harry Hopkins, and Lawrence A. Steinhardt, the then U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

Hopkins in Moscow

On Monday, July 28, 1941, a British coastal defence bomber, PBY Catalina No. B-6461, took off from the east coast of Scotland on a special mission.

In addition to the five-man crew, there were three passengers on board. Flight Lieutenant McKinley, the commander of the Catalina, knew from the previous day's briefings that two of the three were American officers. All he knew about the third passenger, a lanky man in civilian clothes, who sat practically throughout the 24-hour journey in the gunner-radio operator's unheated compartment, was that he was "a very important person."

In her memoirs, Agnia Maisky, widow of the outstanding Soviet diplomat Ivan Maisky, then Ambassador to Britain, recalls the day preceding that flight:

"We were in the London suburb of Bovingdon," she writes, "when a call came from the Embassy with the message that John Winant, the U.S. Ambassador in London, urgently wished to see my husband. We returned to London at once and at about 10 p.m. Winant called. Handing my husband three American passports, he asked for entry visas to the U.S.S.R. My husband looked questioningly at Winant.

" 'These are the passports of Harry Hopkins and two men accompanying him,' Winant explained.

"Maisky had the previous day met President Roosevelt's special assistant who had come to Britain for negotiations with the British government. There had been some talk about Hopkins going to Moscow. Hopkins, it turned out, had got in touch at once with Roosevelt, who considered such a visit highly desirable and instructed his assistant accordingly. Winant now begged Maisky to comply with his request urgently. In half an hour a train was

due to leave for Scotland from where Hopkins was to fly to Russia. He still had to get to the railway station, he pointed out.

"Maisky immediately did what was required. The following day, Winant told him he had almost missed the train. It was already moving when he arrived, and he thrust the passports into Hopkins's hands through the coach window."

That is how the first mission to Moscow of the U.S. President's personal envoy began. In Hopkins's briefcase lay a personal message to Stalin from the President:

"Mr Hopkins is in Moscow at my request for discussions with you personally and with such other officials as you may designate on the vitally important question of how we can most expeditiously and effectively make available the assistance which the United States can render to your country in its magnificent resistance to the treacherous aggression by Hitlerite Germany.

"...May I express, in conclusion, the great admiration all of us in the United States feel for the superb bravery displayed by the Russian people in the defence of their liberty and in their fight for the independence of Russia. The success of your people and all other peoples in opposing Hitler's aggression and his plans for world conquest has been heartening to the American people."

Historian Dr Victor Malkov says:

"Hopkins's visit was extremely important: Roosevelt's special assistant received the most reliable and accurate information about what was happening on the battlefronts. Stalin concealed nothing from Hopkins. He told him about the condition of the Soviet troops, about their losses, their military equipment, and the plans of the Soviet command.

"He was perfectly justified in doing so. He realized that without such frankness he would not be able to overcome the instinctive opposition of Roosevelt himself, and Roosevelt, in his turn, the open opposition of influential American circles to the idea of cooperating with the Soviet Union. As Davies's diary showed, in the course of his three-day stay in the U.S.S.R. Hopkins had grasped the main thing—the growing strength of Soviet resistance and the people's will to victory.

Daily Mail

FOR KING AND EMPIRE

GUNS 35 MILES FROM MOSCOW

Timoshenko to Build Up Volga Defences

Save that Paper

French City Mourns 50 'Living Dead'

100-for-1 Murder Reprisals

THE SOLDIER OF TO-DAY

We Kept Pledges to Stalin

Every Sheet Helps to Free a Ship

Aid Russia Now

In its issue of October 24, 1941, the London Daily Mail "reported" that Soviet troops were getting ready to retreat to the Volga.

"On his return from Moscow, Hopkins exerted no little effort to convince Roosevelt and Churchill of the need to render effective aid to the Soviet Union."

Averell Harriman, who was coordinator of the lend-lease programme, recalls in his memoirs:

"I saw Hopkins again at the Atlantic Conference on August 7, the meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill 'at sea.' I had come up from Washington, and Hopkins had arrived with Churchill on the H.M.S. Prince of Wales. Hopkins brought with him a list of urgent requirements Stalin had given him. But more importantly from his observations and his long talks with Stalin he reported his belief, at variance with the general military appraisal, that the Russians would hold out. As a result Roosevelt and Churchill decided to send American and British missions to negotiate with Stalin a programme of supply. Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Supply and a member of the British War Cabinet, and I were selected to head them."

The September Negotiations

The mission began to prepare for departure. What was it taking with it? Beaverbrook himself wrote on this score to Churchill:

"I see the importance of the mission leaving by September 30. But I shall have nothing to give or promise the Russians. And so it seems to me that Eden should lead it. For he will be able to make speeches."

Churchill, however, did not want to send Eden at that juncture, not wishing to "raise" the level of the mission. He instructed Beaverbrook:

"No large flow can begin till the middle or end of 1942, and the main planning will relate to 1943."

And further:

"Your function will be not only to aid in the forming of the plans to help Russia, but to make sure we are not bled white in the process, and even if you find yourself affected by the Russian atmosphere, I shall be quite stiff about it here."

Churchill was always "stiff" when it came to getting others to do the fighting.... Be that as it may, a conference of representatives of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the U.S.A. took place in Moscow from September 29 to October 1, 1941. Its deliberations were productive: the "Russian atmosphere" had its effect. According to a classified protocol, unanimous agreement was reached on the delivery between October 1941 and June 1942 of supplies to the Soviet Union by Britain and the United States, which would help in transporting the supplies to the U.S.S.R. An enumeration was given of what supplies and in what quantities the U.S. and Britain undertook to provide the U.S.S.R. under the lend-lease agreement.

To this day one hears talk in the West about the tremendous, well-nigh decisive role allied assistance to the Soviet Union supposedly played in defeating the enemy. In 1941, however, the Western leaders themselves were far more modest on this score: in a talk with the Soviet Ambassador on September 5, 1941, Churchill admitted that until winter the Allies would be unable to render any serious assistance, either by opening a second front or by an ample supply of the arms needed. What aid they could give at the moment amounted to a drop in the sea. Unfortunately, however, at the given moment he could promise nothing more.

After the Moscow meeting, too, there were plenty of difficulties. In mid-

Documents being signed at the Moscow conference of U.S., Soviet and British government delegations in September-October 1941.

October 1941, Lord Beaverbrook wrote to Hopkins:

"There is today only one military problem—how to help Russia. Yet on that issue the Chiefs of Staff content themselves with saying that nothing can be done. They point out the difficulties but make no suggestions for overcoming them.

"...Russian resistance has given us new opportunities. It has probably denuded Western Europe of German troops and prevented for the time being offensive action by the Axis in other theatres of possible operations. It has created a quasi-revolutionary situation in every occupied country and opened 2,000 miles of coastline to a descent by British forces."

Beaverbrook actually had a definite plan:

"A raid [i.e., on one of the ports of Northern France] is feasible at any time before the end of October. The nights are long enough for the expedition to cross the Channel undetected to any point on the French coast east of Cherbourg. And the weather conditions are sufficiently stable for plans to be made in advance. Cherbourg is the most important of these ports. And there are good landing beaches for disembarkation and evacuation on the shores of the Cherbourg Peninsula which is itself easily defensible, if necessary, against counterattack.

"A brigade of cruiser tanks landed on these beaches could effect a surprise attack in temporarily overwhelming strength on the port itself.

"Motor and tank landing craft can be made available for such an operation. And both fighter and bomber support could be given by aircraft based on aerodromes in southern England.

"This raid would have effects of major importance. It would surprise the enemy and encourage our friends. It would be evidence to the Russians of our good faith and to the world of our growing strength. And it might well force the Germans to withdraw first-class troops from the Eastern Front in anticipation of further more extensive operations.

"In my view the operation should be attempted without delay."

The Soviet government had repeatedly suggested that Britain take such action. How greatly it would have eased the burden borne by the Soviet forces! But, unfortunately, the response was either a refusal or silence.

Major Yeaton's Provocation

On October 2 the nazis launched a general offensive on Moscow. The thunder of the artillery could be heard in the outskirts of the city. Colonel Faymonville was again in Moscow as a member of an American mission. Here are his reports:

October 11, 1941. "The Russian troops that were almost surrounded at Vyazma are being reformed and the encirclement of Moscow will be prevented by adequate reserves, according to the Soviet General Staff. It is considered that the military situation in the extreme south and at Orel is serious, but not hopeless."

On October 21, he reported that despite the hardships, the people and the army, by all the signs, realized the necessity of continuing the fight and were fully determined not to stop resisting the enemy.

Unlike many of his colleagues at the American Embassy, Faymonville reported only what was borne out by the facts. However, he still had as many ill-wishers as before. Although it was clear that liaison with the Soviet command was effected only through him, many in Washington were dissatisfied with him. Chief of the General Staff George Marshall sent President's special assistant the following memo:

"I don't know him [Faymonville] well, but I do know that competent men who have served with him, such as ex-Ambassador Bullitt and Mr Henderson of the Russian Division of the State Department, have serious doubts as to his judgement and his impartiality wherever the Soviets are concerned." [5]

At the same time, military attaché Major Yeaton was bombarding his superiors with panicky dispatches. On October 10 (just before Faymonville

[5] Bullitt and Henderson were notorious for their anti-Soviet views.

Soviet cavalry on the attack outside Moscow.

sent his cables) Yeaton reported that he considered it possible that the

"end of Russian resistance is not far away.... Commuters reaching Moscow from the suburbs today are speaking of being misled by their government and are saying that the Red Army's defence is not as effective as it should be."

Yeaton's telegram reached not only Marshall and Stimson but Hopkins as well. The reaction of the President's assistant was instantaneous. He wrote to the Secretary of War:

"There has been sent to us a copy of a report by our military attaché in Moscow dated October 10. This report in my opinion should be accepted with the greatest reserve.

"When I was in Moscow, Yeaton was outspoken in his criticism of the Russians and was insisting at that time—over ten to twelve weeks ago—that Moscow was going to fall at any time.

"From my short observation in Moscow I cannot see how any military attaché could get any reasonable expression of opinion from commuters or the general public which would be worthwhile."

Events were to show who was right.

Eden's Visit

On December 12, 1941, the Soviet Informbureau announced that the Soviet forces near Moscow had launched a counteroffensive and that the German army groups poised against the Soviet capital were being driven back. That same day the British cruiser Kent dropped anchor at Murmansk. Its passengers were met by Soviet officials, among whom were Fyodor Molochkov, chief of the protocol department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, Fyodor Gusev, head of the second European department, and representatives of the Soviet command. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and his party set foot on Soviet soil.

Fyodor Gusev recalls:

"Much importance was attached to Eden's visit. It was the first time since the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, and indeed since the inception of the Soviet state, that a British Foreign Secretary had come to our country. The moment was a critical one: the great battles on the Soviet-German front had been raging for more than five months, and the question of combat cooperation within the framework of the newly-formed anti-Hitler coalition was of exceptional significance not only for both countries but from the standpoint of the whole outcome of the fight against fascism.

"It is no secret that this cooperation was proving not simple to arrange. All the more important, then, was Winston Churchill's decision to send Anthony Eden to Moscow. 'The fact that Russia is a communist state and that Britain and the U.S.A. are not and do not intend to be is not any obstacle to our making a good plan for our mutual safety and rightful interests,' the British Prime Minister wrote to Stalin on November 21. The Soviet side naturally welcomed this approach. On December 9, Eden sailed from the base at Scapa Flow, accompanied by the Soviet Ambassador to Britain Ivan Maisky.

"A mood of uplift prevailed among those who met the Foreign Secretary and his party. Small wonder, for the powerful Soviet counteroffensive at Moscow was gaining momentum. After the parade of the local garrison in honour of the visitors, Eden observed that for the first time the German army had been forced to retreat.

"Ahead was the long trip to Moscow. The first thing we did was to provide the British group with fur hats, for the frost was severe. We travelled in a special train, the guests in an armoured saloon car, the Soviet team in a wagon-lits car next to it. Flatcars with anti-aircraft guns brought up the rear. The journey passed without incident; there were no air raids.

"Four days later, on December 15, the train pulled in at Moscow. The talks began the following day and ended on December 18.

"The communiqué published after Eden's return to Britain said that the talks had proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, had recorded the unanimity of views of both sides on questions relating to the conduct of the war, particularly the necessity for the total defeat of Hitler Germany and the adoption after the defeat of measures that would rule out any recurrence of German aggression. Both sides voiced the confidence that the Moscow talks had marked a new and important step forward in bringing the U.S.S.R. and Britain closer together.

"When the negotiations ended, the British Foreign Secretary asked that a trip to the newly-liberated Klin area be arranged for him. The sight of the burnt-out villages along the route of the German retreat made a tremendous impression on him. He saw overturned trucks, wrecked German tanks, smashed guns. He also saw groups of German war prisoners whose appearance was anything but heroic. One of them, realizing that they were being viewed by important personalities, shouted: 'Hitler kaput!'

"On returning to Moscow the same evening, Eden said: 'The myth of German invincibility has been blasted!' "

Moscow prepares to repulse the enemy.

Compiled by
B. BALKAREI

To Serve the Muses

New Times special correspondent Victor Tsoppi has interviewed Poland's Minister for Culture and the Arts Aleksander Krawczuk, who began by saying:

"The word 'minister' comes to us from Latin. This is an appropriate time to recall that its original meaning was 'servant,' a person who serves. The minister at the department I head is a servant of culture who is obliged to know its interests and needs and minister to them. He should also represent culture in its relationship with the authorities. His function differs from that of other ministers of, say, mining or steel. They can issue orders and decrees. A minister of culture cannot create art or culture by issuing instructions and directives. His duty is to create conditions, a climate favourable to culture, and the arts.

"In short, to serve the Muses."

"Yes, to serve reverently and faithfully, and not command them."

Aleksander Krawczuk has only recently moved from the office of a professor to that of minister. But he was a household name in Poland even before his appointment. One of the country's most distinguished historians, a perceptive and sensitive student of classical civilization, he writes about ancient times and extinct cultures in a way that seems to resurrect them and give them a new lease of life in the present. Poles enjoy his television programmes in which he speaks with passionate interest about the ancient world. Now Aleksander Krawczuk is Minister of Culture and the Arts of the Polish People's Republic.

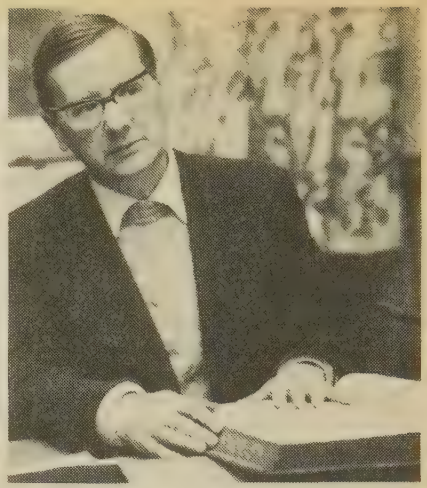
Culture and the arts sustained serious damage during the period of social tension in Poland. That is why our talk is not about the labours of Hercules or the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, but pressing problems of today and tomorrow.

People's Poland, it was said at the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, has overcome the crisis and is now entering a period of struggle for its future. What is the situation on the cultural front?

The situation is difficult. A lot of problems have built up. But I must say for the sake of fairness that Polish culture, having survived the crisis, is recovering its breath and becoming more and more diverse. Polish culture has much to be proud of: many of its achievements have had worldwide impact. We are not exactly starting from scratch. But we face real difficulties. I would first mention the very real practical problems which were the subject of concerned discussion at the PUWP congress. Our cultural amenities are run down, clearly lag behind the scientific and technological revolution and fail to meet the greatly increased spiritual demands of society. We lack modern technology and equipment for our cultural facilities. We do not have enough funds to build new theatres and philharmonics. Printing is in a poor state and there is a growing shortage of paper. Painters sometimes do not have enough paint and brushes. There are problems all round.

Polish culture, as I was able to observe in the grim and troubled days of social crisis, suffered a grave trauma not only in material terms, but also on the ideological level. Some Polish intellectuals, including some of the most celebrated ones, turned away from socialism and lost faith in it. Some of them left for the West. Others withdrew into what is called internal emigration. Others again cast their lot with the church. Some engaged in illegal anti-socialist activities. All of them set themselves in opposition to those of their colleagues who had courageously and consistently worked to overcome the crisis and save socialist Poland. Can it be said that the legacy of that crisis has been overcome?

The problem of divisions within the



artistic milieu is still with us. We have people who are members of official associations (unions) of artists. There are some indifferent people, who take, as it were, a neutral stand. But there are still some hostile elements. The situation is changing. More and more artists and cultural workers are joining the unions of artists. But I ask myself a far from idle question: must everyone be a member of these unions? There has never been a time in Poland when all artists were members of unions. The unions are joined by those who are attracted to organizational work, and are willing to sacrifice part of their time to deal with the problems facing the unions. I for one do not set myself the goal of inducing everyone to join the unions. Let those who want to join them do so and if there are those who don't, we do not mind. This is not the most important thing.

The key task, for me, is to put an end to hostility and schisms. I have a feeling that these schisms, divisions and feuds are dying down and that the tensions are not as acute as they have been until recently. People are talking to each other without abandoning their views. I have met people of different persuasions. I think it is a good thing. In the final count, we are all, including myself in my capacity as minister, serving the supreme goal of enriching Polish culture. The important thing is that people should want to work towards this goal. Whether a person is or is not a member of an artists' union is immaterial. Besides, I think there is no point in trying to lure convinced members of the opposition into the unions—this would lend these people extra significance and weight.

I would like all Polish cultural workers to be aware that their contribution to changing and improving our life is essential if we are to succeed in our current plans. However, there is still a group of people who distance them-

selves completely from cultural life. There are not many of them, and their influence on social processes is clearly waning. I would compare their lot... I would say they are like vanishing islands. This has been their own choice. All we need to do is keep our calm and restraint. The doors of this office are open to all cultural workers. I am ready and willing to talk, argue and exchange views with anyone. But I am not trying to persuade anyone—only experience can persuade. We treat everyone in a friendly, attentive and understanding way. I think this approach alone can, sooner or later, bring the desired result. It would be naive to hope that all cultural workers will join the unions within two or three months. We think along different lines. We seek to bring radical changes to the atmosphere, the climate, to sentiments. This is my goal as a minister.

There is a lot of talk about pluralism in Poland, and it is not just talk. There is a wide spectrum of attitudes. How do you regard this?

I believe that the true pluralists in Poland, i.e., those who respect the views of others, are those who are on the side of socialism. At the same time, one cannot deny that people loyal to the socialist system may have different conceptions. On the other hand, those who trumpet their adherence to pluralism are really convinced that they alone are right. If they were to come to power, it would be terrible. It would be a dictatorship of liberals. We know the kind of liberals they are: "When we liberals come to power we shall bring everyone to heel and everyone will be obliged to be a liberal." It sounds like a joke but it is true. These are exactly the views propagated by some publications in Poland. Some Catholic newspapers and magazines publish only those who cooperate with the church. Others might not exist; they are not even mentioned.

We have a different philosophy: "Those who are not actively against us are with us." I read a lot of "official" periodicals. I come across a whole range of differing views, positions and conceptions in the field of politics and art. A debate is in progress from which truth can and will be born. In Catholic publications we find amazing intolerance of dissent. I don't know if my opinion is the right criterion or whether I am an impartial observer, believing as I do in many gods, but I favour intellectual diversity. I don't mind telling you that I hate everything that is "mono," because it is not only monotonous but dangerous.

Poland has learned this to its cost. The Solidarity leadership, for example, became, after a certain point, a dictatorship, although initially it proclaimed very liberal ideas.

Life here presents many other problems that claim attention. No one would deny that we are living at a very dramatic juncture in world history and the history of Poland. But I do not know of a single work in our literature that tries to address itself to this drama. Polish fiction treats of a wealth of subjects. No subject is taboo. But I have yet to see a work which reflects the essence of the problems of our time vividly and artistically.

Another paradox. You know that some underground literature is being published in Poland. These books, like those printed abroad, make no attempt to come to grips with the drama of the period Poles are living through. This "literature" merely relapses into last-century Romantic trends: messianism, rebellion, Gothic. None of the people who have found themselves on the other side of the barricades seem to be aware that times have changed, that the problems are quite different and the people are different. The impression one gets from such "literature" is depressing.

Yes, we do have censorship (for which we are fiercely attacked) and which, incidentally, is very liberal. But the illegally published authors write anything they like. The same is true of those authors whose work is published abroad. Free of any coercion and censorship, these people would seem to be in an ideal position to create masterpieces without looking over their shoulder to any authorities. And yet there is nothing worthy of notice in their work. There is no art, just fury, hatred and insults.

What do you think of the church's attempts to take writers, artists, actors and the education system under its wing?

I don't think we should exaggerate the problem, although it would be wrong to dismiss it either. The church in Poland has at all times tried to be a patron of the arts. Artists, sculptors, architects, even some writers have over the centuries been linked with the church. What do we see now? A lot of churches are being built, which has generated demand for works of art for the new shrines. It is not for me to judge the artistic value of modern church architecture, painting and sculpture. Opinions differ on that score. Even Catholic publications are sometimes highly critical of this work. Moreover, our Roman Catholic Church has taken some writers and actors under its wing. Some of them have performed, and are still performing, in churches. But that does not have much resonance. A real actor needs a real stage. Without theatre, cinema and especially television, an actor does not exist for the public at large. No church can bring wide public recognition. These people have played the episodic part of martyrs, but proved to be failures. How can they be called martyrs? So, the aura of martyrdom has faded. Besides, creative individuals who have linked their fate with the church are becoming increasingly aware that the church imposes far more rigid demands than the people's state. The state, in fact, allows everything. Write anything you like. We have freedom of expression. But if you are in the fold of the church you are expected to keep to church canons. That is, you are up against a censorship which was invented by the church. Members of the artistic intelligentsia are realizing that this road takes them nowhere.

Changing the subject, what do you think of the current level of cooperation between the socialist cultures of Poland and the Soviet Union?

Cultural exchanges between our countries are making good headway. The task today is to improve the quality of cooperation. It is a question of improvement rather than expansion. Vigorous cultural exchanges among young people seem to be a major avenue. The young in the two countries are different. But they would benefit from knowing each other better. Soviet Minister of Culture Yuri Zakharov and I have had a thoroughgoing discussion of how to create the material infrastructure without which culture cannot develop. Together with our colleagues from other socialist countries, we approached the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for an acceleration of the development of those industries that provide the material basis for culture.

I am convinced that our cultural cooperation will then acquire new scope and meaning. I expect specific agreements to emerge from my visit to Moscow in early January. I am looking forward to the Moscow meetings with hope and optimism.

Thank you, Comrade Minister. I wish you and the Muses you serve a Happy New Year.

Happy New Year! ■

Insider, Arb, Raider, Banker

FELIX GORYUNOV

Ecologists do not tire of blaming us for abusing Mother Nature. Yet they do not seem to notice that we are Nature. Man has not moved far from his ancestors, especially in little things. Who has not admired a chimpanzee family in the Zoo: how caring they are, now picking fleas from each other's fur, now scratching each other's backs. As you look on, you suddenly have a poignant wish for somebody to scratch you tenderly under the shoulder-blade, just like that. If no one will do it for nothing, you will pay any money to have your back scratched....

It was on that instinct rooted in prehistory that the heroes of our detective story battened. True, you may cry yourself hoarse in the computerized jungle of Wall Street and no one will notice—yet the human factor has a substantial role to play. "The way the Street works is, you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours," an investigator of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, SEC (also known as the financial police), observed. The Commission has been busy since last spring looking into the largest financial swindles in the postwar history of Wall Street.

Letter from Caracas

The SEC investigators say that they stumbled upon major "insider trading" operations (stock market deals on the basis of illegally obtained information) by pure chance. One of the leading Wall Street investment banks, Merrill Lynch, received an anonymous letter from Caracas in May 1985. It reported trading irregularities on the part of two bank employees in Venezuela whose transactions were reminiscent of trade ordered through an account of the Bahamas branch of the Swiss Bank Leu International.

Upholding the honour of the business, the Merrill Lynch managers shared their suspicions with the Commission, which started an inquiry. The investigators traced a link between the Bank Leu International and the Zurich brokerage firm Ellis AG, which had attracted the Commission's attention back in 1981. The firm had traded more than 60 stocks on such a scale and so cleverly on the New York stock exchange that in four years its clients' profits exceeded $100 million.

The trail from Zurich led to New York but it was not till May 1986, when the Swiss authorities agreed to disclose an anonymous account in the Bank Leu International, that the Commission's investigators learned the identity of the man behind these operations. He was the rising Wall Street star Dennis Levine. He was considered an expert in beefing mergers and acquisitions and in February 1985 became a director of the well-established investment bank, Drexel Burnham Lambert.

Levine used his secret Swiss bank account and traded, through overseas branches of brokerage firms, the shares of companies which he knew would shortly be raided by pirates*. He bought stock a few weeks before the pirates officially announced their intention to buy a company under stock market regulations. The stock soared and he sold it at a profit. Moreover, Levine "scratched the backs" of his undercover partners, stock brokers, tipping them off as to what stock should be bought and when. About 50 such deals made him $12 million richer.

It is chicken feed, the Commission decided in May 1986, when Levine was arrested. Only small fry has been netted. But if Levine sang, swindlers of a larger calibre could be caught. Levine did sing, and so loudly that the investigators decided to keep information about his associates under wraps. The "insider" gave a name that was pronounced with envy and respect and sometimes even with fear on Wall Street. It was "the king of arbitrageurs" (or arbs), dealers involved in legal speculation in corporate stocks, Ivan Boesky.

How Money's Made

"The king of the arbitrageurs" and "the great speculator" as he came to be known at the height of his financial fame, was born in 1937 into a Jewish family that had emigrated from Russia to America at the turn of the century. His father operated restaurants in Detroit and told his son from his earliest years that he should start a business of his own. The son pulled all sorts of tricks, even on his relatives, who used to call him "Ivan the Bum," but never started a business. It was only after several unsuccessful attempts that he graduated from a law school, and then continued to drift.

But then Boesky struck it lucky: he enchanted the daughter of Ben Silberstein, a California real estate tycoon. Using his New York connections, his father-in-law got Boesky a job as a stock analyst with the Rothschild investment firm. It was not yet his "own business"—clerks in New York are legion—but working for the Rothschilds, Boesky gained access to stock market secrets and, even more importantly, learned the art of "back scratching." All that expertise came in handy in 1975, when, again with Silberstein's help, Boesky opened his own arbitrage firm.

Sensing the breathtaking prospects of market speculation on mergers and acquisitions of major corporations, Boesky went into business heart and soul.

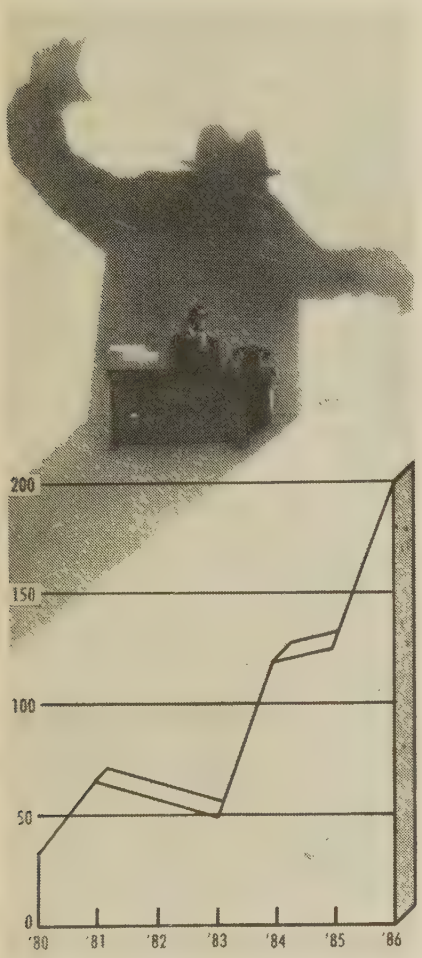
How do the arbs make money? In mergers and acquisitions, several billion-dollar stock packages are at stake and the arb's success depends on his knowledge of combinations in the gamble: he should know who wants to raid what corporation, when and for how much. If the arb knows the line-

---

See "The Stock Exchange Pirates" in our issue No. 41, 1986.

up of forces, he can buy a sizable share of stock in advance and then offer it at a profit to the raider or victim, depending on who pays more.

Stock market regulations permit such speculations but only on the basis of official announcements of the impending deals—or rumours. But who would stake millions on rumours? Moreover, official announcements of mergers are usually only made after everything has been decided behind the scenes. That is why the main thing for the arb is to get a tip from an insider, an employee of an investment bank or a law firm executive who finances or legalizes the



A wave of mergers and takeovers has swept U.S. corporations. The annual total of amalgamated stock has jumped from $30 billion in 1980 to $200 billion in 1986.

deal. It was by using such tips that Boesky operated on the stock market. He promised Levine, for instance, 5 per cent of his profits from every operation tipped by him. But Levine was not Boesky's only informer. His real secret is that "he employs everybody in Wall Street," one arb told journalists. That was what enabled him to pull the largest deals and ruthlessly crush anyone standing in his way.

Boesky's dexterity can be judged by a stock deal in Britain, which recently came to light. In late 1985 Boesky learned—the U.S. financial police is still keeping it secret how—that the big supermarket chain the Argyll Group planned to take over the Distillers Co., the producer of the famous Scotch Whisky Dewar's, White Label and Johnnie Walker as well as Gordon's Gin and Vodka. He immediately offered to buy Distillers Co. shares for the Argyll Group bosses to make the takeover easier.

Yet the Argyll Group, unwilling to pay for the stock more than it was worth on the market, showed Boesky the door. The setback did not discourage him and he offered his services to the bosses of the British beer monopoly Guinness. They were not very scrupulous and quickly realized that beer and whisky could make a profitable mix. The partners devised a clever plan to snatch the Distillers Co. from under the nose of the Argyll Group. Boesky joined forces with Meshulam Riklis, chairman of the Rapid-American Corporation, and began to buy Guinness stock in the London City and on Wall Street and sell Argyll Group stock after it had officially made its bid to take over the Distillers Co. As a consequence, the price of Guinness' shares soared 25 per cent, while the Argyll Group suffered losses and had to give up their takeover bid. Guinness bought the company for $3.7 billion and Riklis became the holder of 4 per cent of the combined Guinness-Distillers group stock (worth about $150 million).

Boesky did well too, although his profit from the deal is still being kept secret by the Commission and the British Department of Trade and Industry. It seems that Boesky is well enough connected in the high echelons of the British-American establishment to be beyond the law-enforcement agencies' reach.

If You Steal Millions...

The marriage of Guinness to the Distillers Co. is considered Boesky's "biggest deal" in the City, but not on Wall Street. In the past three years he directly participated in the takeovers of a number of major American corporations.

In 1984 Chevron, one of the seven transnational "oil sisters," swallowed another "sister," Gulf Oil, for $13.2 billion. Boesky pocketed $65 million. Another oil giant, Texaco, acquired Getty Oil for $10.1 billion, and Boesky's cut was $100 million. The Burroughs electrical engineering corporation took over Sperry Rand electronics for $4.8 billion in 1985—and Boesky held 10 per cent of Sperry Rand shares. The Reynolds tobacco transnational merged with the Nabisco Brands food concern—and a tip from Levine brought Boesky $4 million in profit.

Boesky often pulled multibillion deals with leading takeover raiders. Together with Carl Icahn, for instance, he spread rumours two years ago that the Gulf and Western financial and industrial conglomeration (5 per cent of whose stock Boesky had bought in advance) would shortly become a target for another raid. When the stock soared, the raider and the arb sold their shares at a handsome profit. Those and other partners of Boesky were subpoenaed by the SEC.

But let us go back to the investigation of the deals of "the king of the arbs," which was a no less fascinating detective story than the swindles themselves. Dennis Levine was arrested in May last year. According to the investigators, he gave them Boesky's name. (Levine had a good reason to "sell" Boesky: the "great speculator," notorious for his greed, was putting off paying Levine $2.4 million for earlier tips.) The press immediately snatched up the news of Levine's arrest on suspicions of "insider trading." Boesky, however, was not called up by the SEC investigators before August, while Wall Street learned about it only on November 14.

On that day the Commission officially announced that Boesky was banished from professional stock trading for life and had to return $100 million in penalties for breaches of stock market regulations, which forbade "insider trading." Since Boesky had been of great help to the investigators, SEC officials said, he was allowed to realize his shares on the stock market to the value of $440 million. (It transpired as early as December that the "great speculator" had sold, with the Commission's knowledge, his stock and other shares to the value of $1.3 billion. Western financial observers believe that it was Boesky's "biggest deal" on Wall Street on the basis of confidential information but this time tips had come from "insiders" in the Commission itself.)

Levine faces trial. Boesky also could have received a five-year prison term on one of the criminal charges but the Commission did not sue him, seemingly content with his confession, penalties and retirement. Another case of "back scratching"? Yes, but not only because the lawyers are not free of that ancient instinct either. "The justice system, like Wall Street, works on deals," Business Week tried to justify SEC investigators. But to all appearances, what made the Commission lenient was the fact, Business Week noted, that the trail of

Boesky shady deals "could lead all over the financial world." Boesky rose to the occasion, rang up his influential friends (and his phone was tapped by the financial police) and passed on to them the latest information on stock market deals: beware, he seemed to be saying, it is not my head alone that will roll....

Boesky's name disappeared from the front pages of newspapers on Christmas eve. The press reported instead: the U.S. Court of Appeal confirmed a prison sentence of 18 months on Mr R. F. Winans, a former Wall Street Journal reporter who had been running the Heard on Wall Street column for the paper and for a fee divulged the contents of his reports to a brokerage agent of the firm Kidder Peabody. Winans was small fry even compared with Levine, let alone Boesky, and the Commission did not do a deal with him.

A fresh illustration of the old truth: steal a dime and you will get in the can, steal millions and you will be made a hero.

Who Needed "Wall Street-Gate"?

Another mystery in the Boesky affair is the way the Commission got to "insider" Levine and his undercover partner. When SEC chairman John Shad was asked if the anonymous letter from Caracas had been the only evidence, he declined to reply. Neither did he say if the investigators would have been able to expose Boesky without Levine.

These are good questions. The Commission keeps stool pigeons in addition to a regular staff of 2,000 and undoubtedly has information of suspicious deals made not only by Boesky but also by other arbs, raiders, bankers and corporate managers. In the past few years the Commission has investigated more than 1,000 deals over possible violations of U.S. securities laws but subpoenaed only 119 and charged only a few dealers. Such discrimination, just like the deal with Boesky, shows that the Commission is also tipped as to who should be left alone and who brought under investigation—and to what an extent. This conclusion fits in well with the universal practice of "back scratching" and the mores of the financial Olympus of capitalism.

The press, for instance, reported that Boesky's banishment from Wall Street played into the hands of not only his rivals, other arbs, but also bankers with whom he had had no dealings.

The anonymous letter from Caracas, which led to the investigation of "insider trading" deals, shows that the "great speculator" was most probably tripped by Merrill Lynch bankers, who had long wanted to expand their crediting of mergers and acquisitions. The bank, moreover, has sufficient clout in Washington. (A former Merrill Lynch director, Donald Regan, is the White House's chief of staff.)

Other major banks, such as Morgan Stanley, Goldman Sachs, First Boston and Salomon Bros, also would like to put a squeeze on their rivals. In the past few years they have been especially envious of the fat profits of the investment bank Drexel Burnham Lambert ($4 billion in 1986), which financed Boesky's company more often than others. Six high-ranking executives of the bank were subpoenaed by the Commission and the Federal Grand Jury is also looking into the operations of the bank. The first to appear before the Commission was Drexel's vice-president Michael Milken. He helped Boesky in more than one big deal. Just as Levine had "sold" Boesky, the latter, fulfilling one of the terms of his deal with the Commission, went to see Milken in Los Angeles and secretly taped their confidential conversation.

The stakes in the current battle between the largest U.S. investment banks are very high. The point is not only who will get the largest cut of the pie of mergers and acquisitions. The ongoing reconstruction of corporate America, as capitalist ideologists politely call the current process, is actually a tide of concentration of monopoly capital without precedent in U.S. history. Powerful financial clans are battling for control of giant industrial empires. With all their millions, Boesky and other profiteers from Wall Street are pawns in the fierce clash of the multibillionaires. And the "Wall Street-gate" is merely an episode in that clash for financial dominance, just as "Irangate," which "by chance" coincided with it, is a flare-up of the battle for political influence.

"Greed Is All Right"

"I don't see Boesky as a reason to go into a shell," James Robinson, chairman of the transnational corporation American Express, said. Wrongdoing was confined to "just a few who betrayed the system." Trying to reassure the agitated business world, Business Week observed: "Scandals such as this poison the atmosphere for miles around. That makes it even more important for people in leadership positions to keep clear heads."

But did Boesky and other heroes of financial swindles poison the atmosphere in American business? Rather, they themselves are a product of shameless greed which boomed in America in the 1980s, when social Darwinism had become the moral mainstay of U.S. domestic policy, and "positions of strength"—of U.S. foreign policy.

"Greed is all right by the way. I want you to know that. I think greed is healthy. You can be greedy and still feel good about yourself," Ivan Boesky, the author of the recently published book "Merger Mania," subtitled "Arbitrage: Wall Street's best kept money-making secret," told a group of business students in September 1985.

Lessons in greed were taught to the Americans not only by the arbs. It is intrinsic to the ideology of unrestrained free enterprise, embraced wholeheartedly by the U.S. leaders in the years of Reaganomics. Now they are reaping the fruits in the world outlook of the younger generation of businessmen. Complaining about declining standards of business ethics, Fortune observed that, in young people's reasoning, the market mechanism presumes that, by pursuing his private interest, a man adds to the wealth of the nation. Whatever he does in his drive for wealth—disclose the secrets of his company, use them for personal gain or dupe others—is good. To say it is bad is outdated sentimentality. The philosophy of social Darwinism says that the strong always beat the weak. The strong do not feel responsibility. They do what they wish and success is proof of their right.

But is this a new philosophy? And is this just philosophy and not the day-to-day practice of big business? Moneybags have a licence to do many things, and what is most important, to decide the fates of millions of workers and employees, those who create the public wealth which is being torn apart on the stock market by speculators craving money and power.

The "great speculator" has been banished from the financial Olympus and the publishers have withdrawn from the market his book about ways of making money on Wall Street. But the "Wall Street-gate" continues, "and no one knows when the dominoes will stop falling," Fortune laments.

Photos from Business Week (U.S.A.) and The Economist (Britain)

So Far and Yet So Near

A trip "down under"—to Australia and New Zealand—is looked upon as quite an adventure even today.

VICTOR LINNIK

To many of us, those distant places have always been shrouded in mystery. Life seems to be entirely different there, in the realm of eternal sunshine and eternal spring. Some illusions are extremely tenacious...

Reports from the South Seas used to be relegated to the "Believe It Or Not" columns for the most part. Indeed, the news of a Sydney court ruling that a married couple could adopt a child only if the spouses reduced their weight by 25 kilograms each raised many an eyebrow.... It was not until quite recently that other news began to come in from down under. French special services had blown up the yacht Rainbow Warrier belonging to New Zealand peace activists protesting against continued French nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll. The government of New Zealand had closed its country's ports to American warships with nuclear arms on board. A demonstration of protest against a "friendly call" by U.S. nuclear warships had swept Melbourne harbour. Australia had ratified the Rarotonga Treaty on establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. Prime Minister Hawke of Australia had said that his was the eighth country to ratify the treaty, which had come into force as a result.

Such events are characteristic of our times. They are evidence of people out there awakening to contemporary political realities, of the governments of those distant countries seeking to have their say on matters of war and peace, and make their own contribution to the strengthening of international security.

We discussed all this in the course of our numerous meetings and talks with Australian politicians, journalists and trade union activists, and, of course, at the fourth symposium For Coexistence and Cooperation Between Australia and the Soviet Union in Sydney. The discussions naturally centred on the Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik and its tremendous potential effect on the entire sphere of international relations. The Australians shared, on the whole, the feelings of most people in the rest of the world about Reykjavik: acute disappointment and frustration, caused by dashed aspirations and unfulfilled promises.

Many of those we talked with in Australia called upon the Soviet Union

Sydney harbour.
From the National Geographic magazine (U.S.A.)

not to be discouraged by the Americans' intractability, to press ahead despite U.S. attempts to neutralize the agreements reached. These persistent appeals suggested that in the Soviet-American dialogue we were regarded as the side worth reasoning with, because we had the bold, unconventional thinking, the flexibility and dynamism essential to ensuring a safe future for all mankind.

The issue of war and peace is the pivot round which the Australian political scene revolves. The marked growth of anti-war and anti-nuclear feeling in Australia was no mean factor in Labour's victory over the Conservatives in 1983. The Nuclear Disarmament Party formed over two years ago (whose programme is largely similar to that of the F.R.G.'s Greens) is rapidly gaining in strength. The Australians marked the outgoing U.N. International Year of Peace by urging the deliverance of mankind from the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

We could not help recalling the American film of twenty-five years ago "On the Beach," about a U.S. submarine crew finding its last refuge on the Australian coast after a nuclear war. The Australians realize today that if a nuclear conflict ever breaks out, even their country, far away from its likely epicentre, cannot be expected to be a last refuge for anyone; hence the active involvement in the peace movement of those who have never given a thought to global problems before.

People there cannot possibly fail to see the attractiveness of the Soviet proposals, specifically those put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, because they offer realistic ways of strengthening the security of the region. Certain forces of influence in Australia are determined to present things in such a way as if accepting Soviet initiatives were all but tantamount to breaking with the "traditional ally"—the United States.

Washington has the means to thrust its foreign policy attitudes on Australia—suffice to recall that the U.S. controls three-quarters of world television. The U.S. invasion of Australian TV screens can be described as overwhelming. It should be admitted for fairness' sake, however, that this does not always mean an overwhelming victory, for the U.S. television corporations are compelled to take into account the Australian public's mounting interest in information about the Soviet Union and occasionally to depart somewhat from their usual policy of doctoring the scant news from our country they choose to present. In Melbourne, for instance, we were able to watch—at 5 a.m.—Mikhail Gorbachev's television account of the Reykjavik summit results retransmitted directly from Moscow by the U.S. corporation CNN. The translation left much to be desired, but what really matters is that our viewpoint gets across to people on other continents, not only on its own merits but also owing to the prepossessing and unbiassed manner in which it is set forth.

The fact that the Soviet Union was the first power to sign protocols 2 and 3 to the Rarotonga Treaty, and thus to have pledged to observe the South Pacific's nuclear-free status, is duly appreciated here. The United States

Where the Soviet Lada car is sold.

TASS photo

shows no intention of following Moscow's example. The news of the U.S. decision to exceed the quota of offensive strategic arms set by SALT-2 has been received with disappointment in Australia. Foreign Minister William Hayden described the SALT-2 treaty as the basis on which to go ahead with negotiating new agreements on a substantial reduction of the great powers' nuclear arsenals.

Nevertheless Canberra still takes its cue from the United States, for the most part; hence the ambivalence of Australia's stand on key foreign policy issues. While voicing its disagreement with "star wars" plans, the Australian government is still letting the Americans build bases which could be used in implementing SDI. Australia has reserved the right to let American warships with nuclear weapons on board into its ports.

A new perception of things is steadily gaining ground in Australia today, however. At a conference of the ruling party, Prime Minister Hawke mentioned the restoration of reasonable and practical links with the Soviet Union among its achievements. Foreign Minister William Hayden's visit to our country in 1984 was an illustration of this. The Soviet-Australian committee for the promotion of bilateral trade had its first session in 1985.

Our country wants to do more trade with Australia. We could (and obviously should) sell more cars and Belarus tractors to it than we do now (about 200 of each a year). Progress in this field depends on the quality of our exports and our ability to do business.

That advertising is a powerful factor in sales promotion is common knowledge. We realize that advertising costs money, but we seem to lack any real knowledge of what it is all about, as evidenced by Vneshtorgreklama's showroom recently opened in Melbourne by several Soviet foreign trade organizations and firms. Its very name—consisting, as is our common practice, of a long string of monstrous abbreviations like Vneshtorgmashavtotraktoroexport—gives one the creeps. Even a Russian, let alone an Australian, finds them hard merely to read and still harder to remember. In the meantime, the Australian economy suffers from U.S. protectionism, hence the country's natural desire to win more trade partners, especially in the Asian-Pacific region, to which about 60 per cent of Australian exports go.

Australia had its heyday in the fifties, when it attracted labour from all over the world. Current statistics put the number of jobless at 650,000 (8.4 per cent of the able-bodied population). The trade unions believe the figure to be higher still—700,000-800,000 (as far as the aborigines are concerned, 80 per cent of them are out of work). And this in a country ranking with the world's ten leading industrialized states! The so-called "agrarian revolution" has ruined many farms of which there are now less than 170,000 as against 210,000 in the fifties. Towards the end of the century their number is to dwindle to an estimated 70,000.

Under the circumstances, local politicians and businessmen are clearly resentful of the trade policies pursued by certain Western countries, especially the U.S. According to Prime Minister Hawke, these countries market their colossal surpluses, of farm products in particular, at dumping prices, the victim countries' response to which leads to a veritable trade war.

While touring Australia I had ample opportunity to see that our people's interest in Australia is reciprocated in all spheres: politics, the economy, trade and people-to-people contacts. Not surprisingly, we attracted considerable attention wherever we went—Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne. One of the more memorable meetings we had was a get-together with our fellow-countrymen at the Melbourne branch of the Australia-U.S.S.R. Society. There were all sorts of people in the hall, including an old man who had left Russia in 1914. The audience was all ears, trying not to miss a single word of what was said; later many came up to us to shake hands and to have a closer look at us. Some had come over by late-night train from Geelong, about 80 km from Melbourne, to see what we were like....

Our car sped ahead along the Sydney-Canberra highway. The crowns of giant eucalyptus and acacia trees, rustling in the gentle breeze, the enormous pre-Cambrian boulders perched on the hillsides, the bright-emerald silky verdure of spring, the clear, rain-washed sky—everything breathed, and craved, peace. And was it not for the sake of peace that we had come all the way to Australia?

Canberra—Moscow

The political storms that have shaken Bangladesh over the past few years have given way to relative calm. Martial law, imposed in March 1982 following General Ershad's military coup, was officially lifted on November 10, 1986. The republic's Constitution is back in force, and a civilian government has been formed.

True, the opposition political parties question both the way the parliamentary and presidential elections were conducted, and their returns. After all, the elections were held in a situation unfavourable to the opposition, when martial law was still in force (on May 7 and October 15, 1986, respectively). Be that as it may, Hossain Mohammad Ershad has emerged victorious from this round in the power struggle. In 1986 he succeeded in forming a political organization of his own—the National Party, sweeping to victory in parliamentary elections and getting himself elected President. Having secured the support of individual opposition MPs, he put through the National Assembly (parliament) a law on the ratification of all the acts, orders and decrees passed by the military administration over its four and a half years in office. This effectively relieves General Ershad and his retinue from responsibility for any measures taken in the period of martial law, including the coup itself.

Consequently, the lifting of martial law and the changeover to civilian government have left things much as they were. Predictably, the National Party has come to predominate, with 210 of the 330 parliamentary seats. Formed under the auspices of the military, it has absorbed a number of political parties and organizations and proclaimed its objectives to be "national independence and sovereignty, Islamic values and respect for other religions, Bangladesh nationalism, democracy and social progress." The new civilian cabinet headed by Ershad (who retired from the army shortly before the elections) is made up of members of the National Party. A.K.M. Nurul Islam, Minister of Law, was appointed Vice-President.

The new government confronts the profound socio-economic crisis with which the country, with its 100 million population, has been beset for many years. Bangladesh's backward and largely semi-feudal agriculture is in no position to produce even a minimum of what the people require in the way of food. A slight increase in grain output is cancelled out by population growth (by 2.3 million in 1986). In-

Lull After the Storm

The Post-Martial-Law Scene

dustrial production is growing very slowly, and its share in the gross national product does not exceed nine per cent.

Last year Bangladesh found itself in an especially difficult position: world market prices for its traditional exports (jute, jute products and tea, which account for over 60 per cent of export earnings) dropped. The deficit in the balance of trade, enormous as it was, grew still further. The deterioration of the world market situation has cost the republic no less than a billion dollars over the past five years (official statistics). The Bangladesh economy still depends for its viability on foreign economic and financial aid which amounted to about $1.7 billion in the fiscal year of 1985/86. On the other hand, the country has paid out $410 million—or almost a quarter of its export earnings—to foreign creditors towards clearance of its debts and the interest accrued on them.

Social problems remain as acute as ever. An estimated 86 per cent of Bangladesh's population are poverty-stricken. There are 11-12 million jobless in the country; with the members of their families counted, the total number of victims of unemployment runs to over 40 million. The rapid process of dispossession in the countryside has already made up to 60 per cent of peasants landless. Thousands of tea-plantation workers, employed by private British companies, are having it even harder. According to the paper Holiday (Dacca) they are treated like slaves.

How will the new civilian government solve these complex socio-economic problems? The indications are that it proposes to act in accordance with the third five-year plan for 1985-1990, drawn up and adopted by the military administration and aimed at providing conditions for the development of the private sector. More than half the funds to finance the plan is to come from foreign sources. In 1985 the country's gross domestic product and other economic indices fell short of the targets.

In the new situation, political life in the country is expected to revolve around domestic socio-economic problems.

The alliance of eight left-wing and democratic parties remains the main opponent of the Ershad government. It includes the Awami League, which held office in the early years of independence, and the Communist Party. In the opinion of many political observers, this bloc, which has won almost 100 seats at parliamentary elections, is capable of challenging the ruling National Party and becoming, in the eyes of the broad mass of the people, a democratic alternative to the present regime. However, this eight-party bloc has still to work out a common programme of action, particularly on socio-economic issues.

The Nationalist Party, which ruled Bangladesh from 1979 to 1982 has now dwindled numerically (some of its groupings having gone over to the ruling party). Seeking to restore its influence and win broader support, it has taken a line of tough confrontation with the Ershad government, from an increasingly right-wing stand. At the same time it has launched an active campaign against the forces of the left with the obvious objective of weakening the position of the eight-party alliance. The Nationalist Party has no scruples about the means it uses in this struggle. Recently, Nationalist Party armed thugs carried out a bandit raid on the Communist Party headquarters in Dacca.

The reactionary policy of the Nationalist Party has much in common with that of the fascist elements rallied around Colonel Sayed Farook Ahmed, an organizer of the August 15, 1975, coup d'état and of the murder of Mujibur Rahman, the first President of the republic, and his family. It is worth recalling that Farook received absolution precisely when the Nationalist Party government was in office. Farook's accomplices are resorting to profuse anti-Indian and anti-Soviet rhetoric in their propaganda campaigns.

The religious party, Jamaat-i-Islami, remains aloof on the right-wing flank of political life. It seeks to step up its activity under the slogan of "Islamic revolution" and aims in fact at making the republic a clerical state.

U.S.S.R.-Bangladesh relations, which have deteriorated in recent years through no fault of the Soviet side, are now showing signs of improvement. Trade and economic links are growing, especially in a field to which the present Bangladesh leadership attaches great importance in its plans—the expanding of the energy base. The third phase of the Ghorasal thermoelectric station being built in Bangladesh with Soviet assistance is to go into operation in January. This will increase the country's overall energy output capacity by 20 per cent. The construction of the fourth phase is in full swing, and the ground has been broken for the fifth. When completed, the station will form the basis of Bangladesh's national power supply system.

The proximity or identity of the two countries' approaches to the key issues of our times such as safeguarding universal peace, preventing nuclear war and achieving disarmament is a good foundation for the further development of Soviet-Bangladesh links and contacts, political ones included. As a member of the non-aligned movement, Bangladesh seeks to contribute, as best as it can, towards a peaceful future for Asia, creating an atmosphere of confidence, good-neighbourliness and constructive cooperation in the region. The South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), set up on its initiative in December 1985, has already taken the first steps towards peaceful interaction between the nations of that densely populated part of the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to neighbouring India was followed with great interest in Dacca. Bangladesh papers carried the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World in full, describing it as a new important step towards universal nuclear disarmament. The Soviet leader's words to the effect that the arms race is devouring resources vital to the solution of the developing countries' pressing problems met with a broad response. Ending the arms race would mean higher living standards for hundreds of millions of people. This is what the people of Bangladesh stand in special need of. The fact that the Soviet Union and Bangladesh see eye to eye on ways to ensure peace and international security is a major factor in the fruitful development of Soviet-Bangladesh relations.

V. PUCHKOV

The Bantustans:

An Apartheid Ploy?

Business is slack in Sun City casino. European croupiers are bored. The concert hall to which variety stars like Barry Manilow, Shirley Bassey, and Liza Minelli were once lured by fabulous fees is now deserted. The owners of the gambling house, Africa's biggest, situated in Bophuthatswana bantustan, South Africa, shrug helplessly: nothing doing, communists and liberals are distorting South Africa's impeccable image, telling all sorts of horror stories about the country and leaving honest businessmen broke. Casinos, hotels, and holiday resorts are going bust in other bantustans as well—even in "white" South Africa proper. The flow of those wishing to have a good time and spend their holidays in the apartheid state is running dry.

Sun City casino belongs to the big South African corporation Sun International which runs hotels and gambling houses outside South Africa. Is Bophuthatswana beyond the confines of that country? Of course it is not. But Pretoria declared this bantustan "independent" in 1977 and therefore regards it as "foreign territory."

I should like to warn the reader in advance that writing about the bantustans I'll often have to use inverted commas because the language is also a casualty of apartheid: in South Africa today the ordinary meanings of words are commonly substituted for by their direct opposites. Playing such substitution tricks has become a habit with South Africa's President Pieter Botha, for instance, so much so that he pronounces apartheid "dead," and the situation in the country "100 per cent stable." The bantustans are described as "independent national states," no less.

A look at the map of South Africa will show how absurd such assertions are. There are ten bantustans there, four of them referred to as "independent" (Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda), and the rest as "self-governing," i.e., not yet quite ready for "independence." Characteristically, none of these territories is in one piece: a bantustan consists of separate "islets," as it were. Kwandebele and Kwazulu comprise ten such islets each, and Bophuthatswana—seven. All of them are purely artificial formations created exclusively to suit the white man's needs. The bantustans take up a total of 13 per cent of South African territory, although black Africans constitute 75 per cent of the population.

Reservoirs of Cheap Labour

The bantustans owe their existence to Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, Number 46 of 1959. They form a cornerstone of the philosophy of apartheid—racial segregation—formulated by the Nationalist Party that has ruled South Africa since 1948. Although reservations for black Africans had appeared long before it came to power, it was this party that officially proclaimed apartheid the basis of its state policy. "If our policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship. Every black man in South Africa will eventually be accommodated in some independent new state in this honourable way, and there will no longer be a moral obligation on this parliament to accommodate these people politically," was how Connie Mulder, the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, defined the purpose of bantustanization in 1978.

Apartheid is neither a mere policy line nor a separate aspect of an otherwise normal society. It is a way of life enshrined in the constitution. It is an economic mechanism that keeps the whites in clover at the expense of cheap black labour. This mechanism sucks black labour in, squeezes it out and then dumps it in the bantustans—those out-of-the-way redundant workforce reservoirs.

In a "normal" capitalist society, where the cost of labour is rising, the unemployed represent a danger to the monopolies and the state—but only when they are citizens of the country in question. Apartheid has found a way out of this situation: black factory hands from the bantustans are foreigners by law and, therefore, work on contract.

The bantustans, supposed to consolidate the oppressed state of millions of South African blacks, are ruled by Pretoria-appointed members of the petty-bourgeois black elite, whose specific function it is to exercise political control over labour and regulate work-force supply to the "white" economy.

It looked to the Afrikaners—the rulers of South Africa of predominantly Dutch descent who used to call themselves Boers, i.e., farmers—that their cherished dream of separating themselves from the blacks by a strong barrier was coming true at last.

Can One Survive in a Reservation?

All was well at first except that the black Africans did not want to live in the bantustans which were little short of concentration camps, occupying tracts of wasteland, and fled from them. The authorities passed increasingly draconian laws to punish the recalcitrant, jails were packed, and fugitives were tracked down and taken back by the truckful; some of the more active protesters were shot. But for all that, the exodus from the bantustans continued, one of the chief reasons being that jobs are virtually nonexistent there, and living standards are extremely low. Bantustan dwellers have to perform feats of inventiveness to survive. They have been allotted the most meagre soil, and even that is scarce. Men have to seek jobs in "white" cities, in mines or on farms. The unemployed make up 35 per cent of the total work force. Even official statistics put the proportion of those with no means of subsistence at about 13 per cent. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, four

children die in the bantustans every hour—of starvation for the most part. People die of common ailments as well because there is no one they can get professional medical care from. In "white" South Africa there is one doctor for every 330 of the population as against one per 15,000-19,000 in the bantustans. The average life expectancy is, for whites, 70, and for blacks, 52.

Bright city lights look even brighter from the poverty-stricken bantustans. In desperation, black Africans flee to the "white" regions, despite the bans, and settle in black ghettos.

The bantustans rely for their existence on financial shots in the arm from Pretoria. In 1984, the bantustans, with their population of 12 million—37 per cent of the country's total—were allocated a mere 9 per cent of the South African national budget. Most of this sum went into maintaining inflated administrative staffs, the police and even the army. In Transkei, for instance, there are over 44,000 civil servants—one for every 59 of the population. A great deal of money is spent on carrying out prestigious projects, and more still, embezzled.

The fruits of "independence" are enjoyed only by the "presidents" of the bantustans, who are in cahoots with South Africa's racist authorities, and their henchmen. The Venda bantustan's "president" P. Mphepha (who, incidentally, has never been to school) is paid 48,700 rands* a year by Pretoria, plus a tax-free bonus of 6,000 rands. His chauffeur gets about 2,000 rands a year. Lennox Sebe, "president" of Ciskei, where the annual per capita income is 212 rands, is paid a salary of 42,808 rands a year.

Pockets of Terrorism

As he walked along a dusty and almost deserted street in Kala Village, Transkei, past rows of barrack-type dwellings and half-naked children playing in the sand, Bathandwa Ndondo, 22, did not notice the nose of a police armoured car slowly emerge from around a corner. Helmeted men looked right and left, their rifles at the ready. As soon as the solitary passer-by came into sight, a rifle shot rang out, and the man fell. Policemen jumped out of the car, walked across to the motionless body at a leisurely pace, and pumped a few more bullets into it point-blank. "He was a terrorist," a policeman explained to the villagers, who had run out of their homes on hearing the shots. But it is the authorities who practise terrorism in Transkei. People are imprisoned without trial. A curfew, imposed on the whole area a decade ago, has not yet been lifted. After dark, policemen shoot on sight.

Every "independent" bantustan has supplemented South Africa's security laws with laws of its own, which have made life a nightmare for the population. "We are living in a homeland of absolute terror where a tribal chief shoots and detains whoever he wants. What kind of independence did we Vendas get?" a wretched Venda resident wrote to the newspaper The Sowetan.

Speaking at a meeting, "president" Sebe of Ciskei warned, without mincing his words, that anyone opposed to his government would be subjected to torture. Almost the whole population of this bantustan is under close police surveillance. "Even if only five per cent of the population is involved in the unrest the onus's on the other to report them to the police," the authorities say. In March 1986, for instance, 25,000 peasants were forced to move to still worse lands as a penalty for "unrest" in their villages.

Pretoria was about to grant "independence" to the Kwandebele bantustan. Chief David Mahlangu of the Ndebele people said, however, that neither he nor his people wanted to be deprived of their South African citizenship in this way. This is confirmed by the local population's massive protest action which, despite brutal repression, has assumed such proportions that Pretoria has decided to postpone declaring Kwandebele an "independent state" indefinitely.

A Doomed Policy

Regarding the residents of the "independent" bantustans as foreigners, the South African authorities do not include them in their statistical surveys. The number of such "foreigners" runs into millions. As a result, the percentage of the country's white population has increased markedly, according to official statistics. Compared with the sizes of separate ethnic groups, the whites do not look like a minority but one of the largest communities, at least. This trick is used lest the Afrikaners should worry about their future. The official version, intended as oil on troubled waters, is that South Africa consists of separate African tribes permanently at loggerheads with each other.

"The blacks have never been and will never be united," South African propaganda reiterates. Differences between ethnic groups are fanned in every way to support this assertion. One of the more common ways is to announce plans to transfer land from one bantustan to another. For instance, there is talk of the territory inhabited by the Pedi people being partly handed over to the Ndebele-inhabited bantustan. A bitter conflict arose over the proposed transfer to Swaziland of areas traditionally belonging to the Zulu and Swazi peoples. Territorial disputes erupted into bloody clashes between Transkei and Kwazulu in December 1985.

Having set two communities against each other, Pretoria at once sends in troops to suppress disturbances. This is followed by a government spokesman's statement to the effect that black Africans are allegedly not yet "mature" enough to be granted political rights, and today, as before, it is for the white man to decide their future.

But what does the white man have to offer them? Nothing new at all. None of the plans for South Africa's future provides for the abolition of the bantustans. Moreover, the government of South Africa is going to expedite the granting of "independence" to the other six reservations.

Pieter Botha's "reforms," including those related to the bantustans, are by no means aimed at ending apartheid. The idea is merely to replace old-style apartheid with neo-apartheid, the purpose of which remains the same: to consolidate the political domination of the whites, particularly the Afrikaners. This is what the policy pursued by South Africa's ruling class boils down to.

It is hardly likely, though, that the racists will succeed in carrying their bantustanization policy through to its "logical conclusion." Resistance to the policy is mounting, even among whites who realize the adventurism of such plans. The more sober-minded whites warned years ago that the pursuance of this line is fraught with ruinous consequences for the regime itself. The jobless—disillusioned, driven to despair and destitute—are driven from the settlements [African ghettos just outside city limits—B.A.] to the bantustans. In this way, the government seeks to stabilize the situation in the settlements, but, instead, spreads the infection to the countryside. Whose side will these jobless take in the event of conflict breaking out? The guerrillas, of course, Allister Sparks, a liberal journalist, wrote.

The liberation movement South Africa is now ablaze with has spread to the bantustans as well. By stepping up their pressure on the apartheid regime, black Africans are demanding that the South African authorities stop the bantustanization policy and opposing fake reforms. The African majority is working for the abolition of apartheid, for a unitarian democratic state with all its races enjoying equal rights.

Boris ASOYAN

---

* 1 rand equals $0.45.

On the Other Side of Mount Fuji

A high-speed express train, a symbol of technological progress, streaks against the background of Mount Fuji, which is probably known the world over. This is a familiar picture of Japan. But is it true of the whole country? The New Times correspondent in Japan offers readers his account of a visit to a Japanese prefecture little known to tourists and largely ignored by the Japanese press.

An invisible boundary crosses the peak of Mount Fuji and divides Japan's highest and most famous mountain into two uneven parts belonging to Yamanashi and Shizuoka prefectures. If we descend the trails on the northern slope we will come on the five lakes of Fuji, the "forest sea of Aokigahara." What else constitutes the pride of Yamanashi Prefecture? Pure air and sweet water, peaches and grapes, legends of fearless and noble warriors, crafts that have been almost forgotten in the neighbouring thriving areas of "Greater Tokyo," and traditional festivals. In present-day Japan the price of all this wealth is not high. And Yamanashi is firmly established in the list of prefectures with low per capita incomes, little industry and trouble-plagued agriculture.

The Inventive Tezuka

It has long been observed that the emptier life is of joy and the less certain the future the more frequently and loudly people recall long-gone days of prosperity and glory. It is almost impossible to spend an hour or two in Yamanashi without hearing local people mentioning the name of Shingen Takeda, a warlord who ruled these lands and won fame with his victorious raids against his neighbours in the 16th century, a time of discord and civil war. "Takeda's castle stood there," "Takeda convalesced from his wounds here," "Takeda's troops marched along this road".... As for Shingen Takeda, or, to be more precise, a bronze statue of him, he peers from under his horned helmet with suspicion at the visitors streaming out of the railway terminal in the town of Kofu disapproving of the local people who have let the glory of this mountainous land go to seed. But is it their fault that the waves of industrialization cannot surmount these forbidding and sparsely populated slopes? Is it their fault that big business prefers long-inhabited "anthills" conveniently located on the coast—Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya? The present inhabitants of the ancient fief of Koshu are by no means lacking in the courage, inventiveness and enterprise that distinguished Takeda's troops on the battlefield. It is just that they have to use these qualities in daily and barely effective battles on lean fields and in small dim workshops; in battles against invincible adversaries—the uneven development of Japan, the low prices of their far from modern products and the exodus of young people to big cities.

Take, for example, farmer Koyu Tezuka. His weapon in the struggle for survival is the persimmon, yes, indeed, the common orange-coloured fruit which in autumn adorns gardens and streets throughout Japan. In olden times persimmons were harvested and dried for future use by virtually every family. Dried persimmon is a must on the menu on New Year's night. Today one sees garlands of dried persimmon only in remote villages. Is a persimmon garden conceivable in a city where a tiny plot of land costs millions of yen? Besides, what city dweller has the time carefully to prepare the fruits, string them on straw cords and see that they dry evenly in the sun?

Koyu Tezuka has both land and time. A whole hectare of land unsuitable for the cultivation of rice is planted with persimmon. To speed up the drying process, which usually lasts right up to New Year, he uses a method invented by his grandfather. The fruits are laid out in wooden troughs and dried on the strong flame of kerosene burners. Tezuka manages to put the dried persimmons into pretty packages and send them to his regular clients in the city. Unlike some of his neighbours, he is not teetering on the brink of bankruptcy, is able to maintain his inherited two-storey house roofed with ancient tiles, and rear his sons.

The masters of traditional crafts in Yamanashi are waging a difficult struggle for survival.

"No, despite all the computers, the Japanese have not yet departed from the tradition of calligraphy, which requires the 'four treasures of a scholar's study' that came to us from China more than a thousand years ago: an inkwell, Indian ink, a brush and paper. But the Japanese find the time ever less frequently for the ritual of preparation for penmanship that puts one in a solemn and uplifted mood," complained Hidehiko Mochizuki, the manager of a workshop manufacturing inkwells in the town of Kajikazawa.

I think Mochizuki is alarmed not so much by the departure from the ritual of grinding Indian ink as the declining demand for the workshop's output.

"Our carvers have health problems," the manager went on. "Their work is dirty and detrimental to their health, as they inhale stone dust. Besides, their earnings are far from impressive. I'm afraid their art will have vanished in our prefecture 15-20 years from now."

I took the pieces of a special stone from the Fuji foothills in my hands, learned the names of each type of inkwell ("moon in the clouds," "monkey's face," "wild goose marsh") and was saddened by the thought that all this beauty embodying an age-old deference to literacy, knowledge and the art of calligraphy might vanish.

While beautiful characters can be written even with purchased Indian ink, not a single calligrapher can do without a special paper called washi. Nobody has the slightest doubt about this in Nishijima, a village on the bank of the River Fuji, namesake and neighbour of the famous mountain. For more than four centuries the reeds and bushes on the banks of this river have served as raw materials for the production of a special paper on which one writes with a brush. The technology has hardly changed since the 16th century when a craftsman by the name of Seibei Mochizuki was declared "God of Paper." A small temple was built in his honour in the mountains.

The pulverized reeds and bark are boiled in vats till they turn white, glue is added and then a frame covered with "gauze" made of very thin slivers of bamboo is used to skim off one layer of paper after another. The pile of sheets is pressed and then dried in the sun for a week, immersed in water again and then each sheet is dried on heated steel plates. True, the 20th century is intruding into this simple technology: natural glue has been replaced with a synthetic one and paper pulp is being increasingly used instead of the gradually disappearing reeds. The novelties are explained not only by the declining amounts of traditional raw materials on the banks of the Fuji, but also by the desire to cut production costs and gain an advantage over rival producers of washi, I was told by Koki Mochizuki, head of the twelfth generation of a papermaking family. The main thing is to survive and continue the family tradition.

The Mayor of Shimobe

What Yoshimasa Kobayashi, mayor of Shimobe, one of Yamanashi Prefecture's 64 districts, told me might well be called a lecture in the art of survival. To begin with, he showed me a graph of the changes in size of population of several villages and townships in his district, which occupies an area of 130 sq. km. The line resembled the trajectory of a plane descending for a crash landing. The size of the population has dropped by a half in the last thirty years.

"Each year we have been losing about ten per cent of the population. Mushroom-picking, producing charcoal, breeding silkworms and other traditional pursuits will no longer earn a person his livelihood. We do not have modern enterprises, so young people leave to study and work in Kofu, Nagoya and Tokyo. Already the average age in this region has gone up to 50. But don't rush to list Shimobe among the areas on their way to extinction. We're not going to give up." The mayor placed on the table a whole pile of excellently printed advertizing booklets. "We do not envy the thriving residents of big cities. Let them have what we do not have in villages. But we have ample of what they can only see in their dreams. Inhale our mountain air—people in Tokyo are prepared for the sake of this air to travel three to four hours by car or train. And the water of mountain rivers and lakes? We bottle it and supermarkets in Tokyo and Nagoya are doing a brisk trade selling it. Many celebrities only drink our water, which holds a place of honour in the annually published list of sources of pure and tasty water in Japan. The water brings us other profits as well. Anglers from Tokyo come to catch the amazingly tasty fish called yamame which we breed specially in mountain streams."

Also at the service of tourists are curative springs that help treat rheumatism and other ailments. Next to Shimobe, a resort settlement, there is a small temple in the mountains and after undergoing treatment at the spas people take the crutches they no longer need there. To attract tourists, the local authorities have spent large sums on the building of summer cottages, tennis courts, and croquet lawns as the game is popular with elderly tourists. Now under construction is a museum to the wandering monk-cum-sculptor Mokujiki, intended to attract Buddhists and simply art lovers. Mokujiki was born here some two centuries ago and won fame with his wooden statues of the Buddha. Travelling all over Japan, the sculptor stopped at temples, monasteries and the homes of believers, and in the space of a single night would carve a statue. Quite a few of Mokujiki's "smiling Buddhas" have survived into our times, as well as his house in his native village. Returning from the past to the present I will name yet another local attraction built by the authorities: an observation platform on the shore of Lake Motosu-ko from which one can enjoy the beautiful view, including the reflection of Mount Fuji in the water. This view is reproduced on the new 5,000-yen bank notes. Some hope that posing for a photograph against the background of Fuji while holding such a bank note in the hand will bring luck and wealth.

The School Will Soon Vanish

The vigorous efforts to attract tourists, develop resorts and traditional crafts are beginning to bring dividends.

Squatting on the board floor, craftsmen carve inkpots from suzuri stone.

Photo by author

More taxes are flowing into the district's treasury. But still in Shimobe, just as in the overwhelming majority of other districts (60 out of 64) in Yamanashi Prefecture, taxes cover only 20-30 per cent of expenditures. The remaining sums come from government programmes to help the "decaying" districts. But these sums are clearly insufficient. This was stated by the mayor of Shimobe district and made apparent by the state of roads, public buildings and schools.

The empty yard is flooded with sunlight and warmth, which is especially welcome in December. But inside the two-storey wooden building of the Miho elementary school it was very cold in spite of the stoves. Walking down the creaky planks of the corridor and looking into the spacious classrooms, one sees a sight very unusual to a resident of Tokyo: instead of packed rooms with 40-50 pupils there are only one or two of them sitting in front of the teacher. True, there was quite a "crowd" in one of the rooms: the calligraphy lesson had attracted as many as four third and fourth graders. During the lunch break all twelve inhabitants of Miho — seven pupils and five teachers—gather in the canteen.

"Some fifty years ago Miho had more than a hundred pupils, while next year, for the first time, the school will not enrol a single pupil in the first grade. There will only be six pupils in the other five grades and we will have to pull out yet another nail." The school principal, Akihiko Tanzawa, pointed to the seven nails in the wall near the door, hanging on which were seven school caps, and seven bags with street shoes. "Of course, our children have some advantages compared with those in ordinary schools: the teachers devote a lot of time to each of them and take into consideration their abilities and aptitudes. It is also important that we are all friends in this school and there is nothing even remotely resembling the wave of violence that is now sweeping urban schools. But there are also drawbacks. In a class with only one or two pupils it is difficult to acquire the habits of group behaviour that are so necessary in adult life. We teachers are trying to make up for the lack of contact with coevals by organizing—together with parents—all sorts of activities involving the entire school: concerts, hikes into the mountains to collect medicinal herbs, sports competitions and excursions by bus to neighbouring cities. All this takes the edge off the problem but does not solve it. I think the school will soon be no more. It is not just that the building is old and might collapse during one of the frequent earthquakes here. It goes without saying that the future of the school is linked with the state of affairs of the local population. And this is not at all rosy. The average income of a farmer's family is hardly enough for subsistence. One young family after another is leaving for the cities while old people have no need for the school."

The fate of the Miho school is symptomatic not only of Yamanashi but also of other Japanese rural areas that, with every passing year, are losing more inhabitants and hope.

Y. TAVROVSKY
our own correspondent,
Kofu—Tokyo

A Day with a Chinese Film Director

SERGEI TOROPTSEV

Frankly, I had little hope that he would ring me up, let alone call in person.

The Xiyuan (Western Garden) hotel soars above the mud houses of old Peking. Its twenty-six storeys are crowned with a massive cap that houses a restaurant, a café and observation platforms. The view is intended for tourists: you can see very little of yesterday's Peking with its maze of narrow streets, drab mud houses and dingy shops. Instead you get a glimpse of tomorrow as embodied by the 14-16-storey residential blocks and high-rise hotels (one is fifty storeys high) which dwarf the traditional stone gates, once part of the fortress fortifications. Stunned by the panorama, you swoon down a glassed-in shaft in a modern lift past an indoor swimming pool and cross the lobby flooded by the iridescent light of enormous chandeliers, a lobby so vast that you feel dazed. In spite of yourself, you slow down in front of the doors that slide open as you approach. Passing through them, you find yourself in a traditional Chinese courtyard with decorative bridges and scowling white-stone lions. It strikes you as an anachronism. It is as if the lift with the twinkling floor numbers was a time machine travelling through periods of history many generations apart.

I still remember ....

It has become commonplace to compare today's China with the China that etched itself on one's memory many years ago. But those who stray from the carefully laid tourist itineraries will long be haunted by the images of a decaying past, like the bleak village in the film "Country Couple" whose demise is mourned by the sad tolling of bells. And yet I cannot help marvelling at the transformation of China; not so much the new residential blocks or the architecturally more imaginative, but thoroughly un-Chinese high-rise hotels, as the changes in people. Once anonymous protagonists could be freely made to change places and put in different settings not only in films but in life. I refer to the superficial, formal side of life which manifests not the human essence but the prevalent tendency to obliterate distinctions between people, turning a nation into the "masses."

I remember that in the early sixties, my Chinese acquaintances would furtively look around before expressing an "unorthodox" opinion. The hawk-like janitor at the Peking University hall of residence where I lived as a student intimidated visitors by questioning them about their identity and whether they had a permit to visit a foreigner.

Human Appeal of "Neighbours"

The gentle knocking on the door of my hotel room on the eleventh floor was a symbol of the new China. I saw a young man in a light jacket, a little above medium height, with a slight stoop, an open look in his wide-set eyes. He was Zheng Dongtian, the film director.

He is forty-two and comes from the south. His life, especially its early stages, was full of ups and downs, which must account for the determination one reads clearly in his eyes. He entered the Peking Cinema Institute in 1961, majoring in film direction. He immersed himself in the history of literature, painting and the theory of art. His erudition shows in his numerous publications, which are characterized by an original view and an ability to penetrate beyond the outer shell. His evaluations of films are profound and original. But the graduation film he was making in 1966 never materialized because of the "cultural revolution." Ten years passed before he could return to his alma mater, this time as a teacher and film director. Zheng Dongtian says: "I belong to the generation linking the old and the young, and I am traditional in many ways. I think realism should be the dominant method in art." He is keen to know about Soviet cinema, and hear about new films and young names. He recalls the films he has seen recently. He speaks warmly of "Andrei Rublyov."

He directed several films for the institute's training studio which was subsequently transformed into a Youth Studio, making films for general release in China. The best of them is undoubtedly "Neighbours," a straightforward unembellished story of a crowded family hostel and its inhabitants with their everyday concerns. In spite of a certain glibness in the ending, the film was remarkable because its problems and characters were very close to the audience. Back in 1981, when the film was released, it was still a rare phenomenon in China. The following year the film swept the board of prizes: it was named "best film" in the Ministry of Culture's official list as well as at the Golden Cockerel competition, which also awarded it the prize for "best set designer." Zheng Dongtian conceded the best direction prize to Cheng Yin. Actually, it was an honour for a novice to be in the company of that established master and the equally illustrious third nominee, Shui Hua of "The White-Haired Girl" fame. The Golden Cockerel jury noted the film's "moving panorama of real life," "individualized characters," "stylistic integrity" and "unpretentious and vivid artistic expression."

"You know, I've seen 'Neighbours.' It's an extraordinary film." I was glad I didn't need to lie. Of course, it's easy to find a polite formula, but it's wonderful that the film should correspond to the image of this fine, open man. So, I could tell him the whole truth. "I didn't like the final scene. A deus ex machina pops up and sorts everything out in a happy ending."

"I would shoot it differently now," he replied.

There was no point in asking him how. The film has been shot, and the director will use new endings in new films. He is currently thinking of a new

picture. Not only the level of skill, the mentality, too, is changing dramatically. The finale of "Neighbours" defers to the former moralizing clichés. The prescriptive principle ("showing what should be") has not been discarded in Chinese art, as witnessed by some episodes and even films. But it no longer holds sway. From the opposite end of the scale, there is the looming mass of commercial films in which the natural desire to attract audiences often prevails over artistic flair and discretion to become the sole goal and criterion.

"Over the years people have got used to a set procedure: a film is made, a standard review is published. We are used to old criteria," stresses Zheng Dongtian, "and we seldom turn to new concepts. The complex situation in today's cinema is partly due to the commercial film, a spin-off of the economic reforms and the new attitude to the market. The so-called political propaganda films and quality films occupy a relatively small place compared with the mainstream of commercial films, which combine aesthetic standards with popular appeal."

Optimum Combination

I can follow the direction of his thought. To him, "commercial" is not a value judgement. For years, art in China imposed stereotypes and was itself saddled with stereotypes: film screenings were obligatory political events. The viewers were not expected to "want" to see a film, but after the screening they were expected to "discuss" it not as a work of art but as a statement about a specific political situation. "Aesthetic" and "popular" were in different categories, dividing people into the "elite" and "art for everyone." In the list of artistic sins, low artistic standards were rated so far below "lack of popular appeal" (meaning that a film had to cross every "t" and dot every "i") that they were considered to be of little consequence.

So, the other extreme, a superabundance of colours and styles is a remedy, though a dangerous one, like any toxic drug.

"Decent people fear that popular films may corrupt tastes," says Zheng Dongtian, "but they do not understand that only competition can raise artistic standards and bring film production up to scratch. Thus, the kung fu films in which the characters display their prowess in unarmed combat were at first perceived as a novelty and studios vied with each other producing them. But audiences demand still greater freshness from these films and directors are looking for new ways of reproducing national traits. The boom in commercial films makes for higher artistic standards."

The conversation predictably focussed on "The Magic Braid," a controversial and interesting film based on a modern story of the same title by Teng Zicai. The main character, reminiscent of Ivan the Fool in Russian tales (he is named Shaer, i. e., Simpleton), has managed to use heel-length hair in braids which every Chinese had to wear under the Manchu dynasty (the action takes place at the end of the last century) to such formidable effect that no master of Chinese kung fu or Japanese karate could counter the stinging lashes of the braid. The grotesque glorification of the powerful "magic braid" in the first part of the film is a takeoff on the wholesale conservative apologia of national traditions that did not discriminate between progressive traditions and the outdated ones dragging the country into the past. The varnished plaque with the words "Magic Braid" given to the Simpleton by the city fathers (a symbol of the thoughtless glorification of all tradition) is hung on a nail. But it cannot remain there for long; it tilts and falls off the wall. The Simpleton teaches his skill to a whole army who arrogantly proclaim themselves to be "immortal." But the warriors, who so carelessly relied on their "moral strength" (ridiculed by Lu Xin in his time), prove helpless against firearms. The "magic" braid is cut off by a bullet and in the final scene the Simpleton worships a more modern deity: in a cowboy gesture, he draws two guns demonstrating his "magic" accuracy. Another myth is being created.

Zheng Dongtian is lost in thought, a teacup in his hand, staring past me with unblinking eyes into some transcendental space from which he derives his thoughts and images: "Yes, here you have a negation of hidebound attitudes."

This is one view of "The Magic Braid," which has caused such a stir in the film community in China. Its opponents feel that the film glories in tradition too much. They, however, have failed to see the author's irony in depicting the kung fu battles. But for the "cowboy" final scene, everyone would have accepted the "negation of tradition" version. But the startling finale (seen in the context of the overall

A still from the prize-winning motion picture "Neighbours."

grotesque intonation) lends the film a new depth: it is a plea against any dogmatism and myth-making that impedes development, a call to cast aside stereotyped thinking. The Simpleton, initially a likeable fellow, ends up as a reactionary force (unconscious and passive, but still a liability to his country). This is the point where the costume film enters the intense social and moral quests of today's China with its economic reforms, ideally aimed at restructuring the whole society from top to bottom, and rejecting ingrained attitudes of mind, behaviour and perception that have become ossified and dangerous.

I did not set out all these thoughts in quite that way, for our talk did not proceed as smoothly as it might appear, interrupted every now and again by salty groundnuts, a banana or a cocoa cookie.

"The Magic Braid" threw another sidelight on something I had not previously been aware of. In general I am neither a determined opponent nor a thoughtless apologist of dizzying screen battles, especially if there are hundreds of scuffles scattered through dozens of films. By and large the kung fu films made in Hongkong and the Japanese karate films are rightly considered to be a special genre, which has little to do with art. In them the kung fu and karate wrestling is the end, and not the means. In China, they began to make such films in 1979 (although something similar had been done back in the thirties). Statistics show that audiences, initially intoxicated by the spectacle, have now noticeably cooled. While the early pictures attracted hundreds of millions of viewers, in 1985, when the number of "adventures" (most of them featuring kung fu) topped forty, i.e., a third of all films made in China, the audience shrank to hundreds of thousands. No negligible figures in absolute terms to be sure; but the falling-off of interest is a distinct trend. When the plot lurches mindlessly from duel to duel—so that if you remove them nothing is left of the narrative, let alone characters, and one duel looks very much like another—only the presentation can save such a film, until its novelty wears off.

"The Magic Braid," however, stands apart from banal wudapian (fighting films). It exhibits a completely new quality. Here kung fu is not the end but a means, an artistic device. Gripped by the serious and profound idea, the viewer does not squeal at the martial scenes, but discovers different layers of meaning in them. At the same time, thrilling spectacle helps to grasp the film's message. This makes it an ideal combination of the "aesthetic" and of "popular appeal," the combination advocated by Zheng Donglian. He is not alone in voting for such a marriage of spectacle and serious thought.

"Bei Hai Is Me"

Zheng Dongtian and I walked through Peking's streets and bystreets. Lost in the maze of these streets is a small café which might have been named after him, "Dongtian," translated roughly as "earthly paradise" (the caves inhabited by Taoist "immortals"). It is a former bomb shelter, one of the many built during the days of militarist hysteria.

The director lives in the dormitory of the Central Conservatoire. According to an old Chinese tradition, employees of an office or students at a college are housed next to their place of work or study. It is pretty much the same scene as in "Neighbours." He lives in the Conservatoire dormitory because his wife Li Yinghua, a musicologist, works in the Conservatoire.

The family occupies two rooms on the ground floor of a cold stone building of hotel type. The bathroom is at the end of the corridor, shared with other residents. On the wall hangs a blackboard on which Huhu, their schoolage child, has written his code of ethics in a legible hand. Bookshelves hold works of Marx, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, and studies in cinema and music, including Soviet ones. A clothesline with drying linen is strung across the room. Unembarrassed by the chaos, my host pours me a cup of tea, of which he is a real connoisseur. (Now each time my Moscow flat is filled with the delicate aroma of the jasmine tea he gave me I remember Zheng Dongtian with gratitude.) Then he switched on his video to show me the ceremony of the annual film prize award: a suave introduction by director Xie Jin, regarded by many of his colleagues as China's foremost director (his early films were released in the Soviet Union in the fifties) and a bashful, somewhat nervous actress Bai Yang. Zheng Dongtian draws my attention to the contrast between her shyness and the polished precision of her screen acting.

"Each year at the end of spring and the start of summer, the cinema has its field day: the prizes for three competitions are awarded, stars assemble, and the jamboree lasts almost a month. Now we have competition, there is talk of freedom of artistic expression the cinema and the critics are closely linked and the three competitions get a lot of limelight," this is how Zheng Dongtian speaks about the competitions' role in promoting professional criticism. It is a serious problem in China. In the past, people were so used to the supremacy of the political criterion that even now that they realize it is an extreme, they are often unable to abandon the purely sociological approach to a work of art.

We talked about the 1983 film "Country Couple." I think it is a profound and artistic film whose social message does not strike the eye. That is why almost all the Chinese critics latched on to incidentals which do not reveal the deep underlying message. Very few critics were perceptive enough to appreciate the film. Only one, with the strange name of Bei Hai (The Northern Sea, the name of a park in Peking), offered an interesting conception of the treatment of sound and space in the film, showing that the camera angle is deliberately narrowed, hemmed in by the mountains that separate the village from the rest of the world and modernity. At the same time the "'something beyond the mountain' is expressed in sounds. The combination of the visual image with the sound creates a feeling of confined space, and confined living space is a symbol and source of narrowness of soul."

Zheng Dongtian lapsed into another of his reveries. He sometimes does so even in the course of an animated conversation. An absent-minded smile played on his face. Then he said: "Bei Hai is me." It appears that the same issue carried another of his articles about directing skill, and he had to sign the review with a pen name.

I came away with a precious souvenir, a copy of the journal Dazhong Dianying with Bei Hai's article and Zheng Dongtian's autograph. In return I had given him an article from the July issue of the Soviet journal Novy Mir in which I wrote, referring to Bei Hai: "Only some of the most perceptive critics saw the clash of historical periods in the fate of a doomed hamlet, heard the roar of exploding time and worlds, were aware of the cloistered interiors emphasizing the ossified life of the village."

Peking-Moscow

TAKING UP A POINT

It seems to me that we ourselves are helping the Americans play their fake role of peacemakers. Our government's peace initiatives are often followed with the phrase: now it is up to the United States. These words clearly presuppose that the Americans, too, make initiatives for peace. Well, they haven't so far. All they do is talk.

V. MARTYNOV
Omsk, U.S.S.R.

New Times political analyst LEV BEZYMENSKY replies:

Your question is fair and quite justified. Fine words have rarely decided anything in politics but often served as a cover for deeds that are far from fine.

But let us look into the matter. Are we really helping the Americans to play the role of peacemakers? I was about to say no—but then hesitated. The point is, why should we not help them to become real rather than phoney peacemakers?

You must agree that the realities of the modern world do not always coincide with our wishes. World imperialism is as real as world socialism. Lenin once said that not to come into contact with the capitalist world, the Soviet republic would have to fly to the Moon. That was way back in 1918, but even today, with a well-developed space technology, the prospect is not appealing. We must live side by side with other countries, including the U.S. We should therefore find a mutually acceptable way of coexisting and lead our capitalist partners to it.

But they do not want it, you argue. I answer we should help them. We should make them, says someone else. There are many options. What matters most, however, is that the foreign policy dynamism of our system should be used to the full. We really can reach agreement with our partners even if they say afterwards that the initiative was theirs. One example is the European process. Although the idea was first formulated by the socialist countries, some people claim today that it was "originally a Western idea." But should we argue about it? I don't think so. Why argue as to who was the initiator of SALT-1 or the ABM treaty? The main thing is that both documents became a reality and, I think, we "helped" those American politicians who took a realistic view and saw that there was an objective need for accords. We should not paint all U.S. politicians black, after all, and even the more intransigent of them sometimes wake up to reality, though, regrettably, not always opportunely.

How should we do business with those "other" American politicians? Should we calm up, grit our teeth and automatically respond to every new round of the arms race with our own arms buildup? I don't think you would like that. The great wisdom and boldness of the Soviet decision to have a moratorium lies in the fact that we ran away from our own shadow, as it were, and told America and the whole world: look, here are not just fine words, but real concrete action, albeit at great risk.

You may argue that the Americans have not replied in kind. They have not responded to our peace initiative. But the Pentagon is not the beginning and end of everything. The growth of the public movement for a nuclear test ban in the world today would be unthinkable without the Soviet moratorium. There would never have been an address to Ronald Reagan signed by dozens of Congressmen, demanding an end to nuclear testing, if the U.S.S.R. had not taken that step in 1985. We ourselves would not have realized our potential to such an extent either.

This potential, of course, is not limitless. The Soviet government, doing the sacred will of the people to guarantee the security of our country, recently stated: we have actually extended our moratorium for the fifth time, but we shall carry it on provided the United States desists from further testing in Nevada. Otherwise, we shall be compelled to resume tests. But even now we say: let us get down to full-scale talks on a total test ban.

Recently I took part in an international discussion in which a U.S. delegate (I cannot name him under the conditions of the discussion) held forth with displeasure and even bile about the "hurricane" of Soviet peace proposals and initiatives, thus indirectly proving their effectiveness.

Let us not lull ourselves into the hope that the enemies of disarmament will in future refrain from putting a spoke in our wheels. Or that they will not brush aside initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union or other countries. But is this a reason to take a rigidly defensive stand? I do not think so.

We are prepared to find a common language, but not on any account tolerate the defiant behaviour of those who clamour for a "crusade" against us. The United States is continuing the arms race, it subverts existing agreements—and we should not overlook this. It is behaving arrogantly—and we should respond without fear of "diplomatic complications." What is at issue is the creation of an atmosphere of mutual responsibility in the great process of coming to grips with the grim imperative of the 20th century, the imperative of survival.

Survival is a word that is not often used, and some may say it is pessimistic: we are no longer living but trying to survive. But I think it is optimistic because it mobilizes people's moral potential to guarantee the highest destiny of mankind: to survive in order to live, in a peaceful world, in a world with varied social and other structures, on the Earth of the 20th and 21st centuries, which can and must be made better than it is today. Is this not a goal worth making initiatives for?

■

Paklin—Aiming for 2.45

He has the reputation of being the best high jumper in the world, and confirmed it in 1986.

Almost immediately after the summer season ended Igor Paklin began a new season of his own. In his native Kirghizia, with his coach Anatoly Vogul and a group of high jumpers, he left for the mountains, the Alamedin canyon, where a small training camp is located. True, their programme there does not provide for any high jumping —hiking in the mountains is how Vogul's protégés traditionally begin their preparations for the new season. In the Tien Shan mountains they breathe the crystal-clear mountain air and climb as high as three thousand metres, optimum heights for amateurs. As a result, they charge themselves with positive emotions.

Igor Paklin celebrated his 23rd birthday last June. He was seven when his older brother Valery, who was training under Vogul's supervision, brought him to his coach. Vasily Paklin, a foundry worker, and his wife Lidia Ivanovna, a medical nurse, encouraged their sons' interest in sport in every way.

Igor set his world record at the World University Games in the Japanese city of Kobe on September 4, 1985. Simple arithmetic shows that this took him fifteen years. Last year Igor Paklin won the European championship in Stuttgart and the final of the Grand Prix series in Rome, showed the season's best result in the world—2 metres 38 centimetres, and twice tried to beat his own world record (2.41 metres), but failed.

"I failed but only for the time being," Paklin says with

conviction. "My coach and I are convinced that the height of 2.45 metres is quite a realistic target for the coming summer season, which will culminate in the world track and field championship."

As we see, Paklin is aiming at heights which seemed impossible only yesterday, and has every right to do so. He has earned the right. On the road to the summit he has stumbled and even fallen. Igor was in the ninth grade when he cleared an impressive height for boys of his age—2.06 metres. But then he suffered an injury so serious that he had to abandon even light training for ten months. Anatoly Vogul, a thinking and creative coach, invented an original system of training for his pupil that enabled him to clear the bar at 2.18 metres within months of overcoming the effects of the injury. Then came the moment when coach and pupil almost parted for ever.

Igor was on the eve of finishing secondary school when he suddenly admitted to his shocked coach that he firmly decided to become a pilot. "Flying is my childhood dream. I know that at 191 centimetres I am too tall to join the Air Force, but I'm quite acceptable for civil aviation," Igor said. Vogul did not go into lengthy arguments. He found just one, which turned out to be the most persuasive: "Have you ever known a pilot who could both fly and find time to go in for big-time sport and set records?"

Igor pondered over this and agreed with his coach. In his home town of Frunze he enrolled at the Politechnical Institute and has no regrets to this day. He likes his future profession of computer programmer. In his home next to books by Chekhov, O'Henry and Salinger, which he loves and often rereads, I saw a stack of technical journals which he invariably takes with him on his long travels to competitions.

As to high jumping, there have been ups and downs, for instance the setback at the first ever world track and field championship in Helsinki in 1983. There have also been arguments with the coach, sometimes very heated ones. Some of these conflicts were inevitable considering the constant contact of these two strong personalities. In other instances, Paklin's first big successes had gone to his head. But that, fortunately, was long ago and a thing of the past.

The training methods developed by Vogul are innovative in many ways. For instance, he holds that high jumping must combine two elements—the male and female. The run-up requires lithe and even graceful movements followed by an explosion of brute force. "I would compare this sport with damask steel in which alloying the brittle and the hard results in both strength and flexibility," Vogul says. But Paklin, I must say, does not follow the instructions of his coach blindly. He must be convinced, get to the crux of the new idea, and also accept it emotionally. There are times when he rejects some of Vogul's suggestions. But after a jump Paklin can easily explain in detail what cell of his organism, what muscle or group of muscles functioned at a given moment and why it was those and not others.

The coach and the pupil are convinced that they have found the most rational diet. No sugar and no meat. When there are only 36-48 hours before a competition Igor begins to fast, drinking only water and fruit juice. "This fully cleanses the organism," Igor says. "You see, a great part of one's energy is spent digesting food, while we have found other uses for this part."

Recently there was a big event in Igor Paklin's life—he met a girl in Moscow and married her. Yelena finished secondary school in 1985. A former gymnast, she wants to join the Institute of Physical Culture. So yet another young family has embarked on a life of its own.

Alexei SREBNITSKY

TASS photo

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

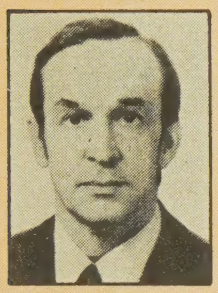
Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PRIZES AND THANKS FOR BEST CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1986

The editors are most grateful to foreign statesmen and civic figures for their attention to our magazine and for having contributed articles and interviews to it. They include:

Janos Kadar (Hungary); Wojciech Jaruzelski (Poland); Hun Sen (Kampuchea); Phoune Sipaseuth (Laos); Nguyen Co Thach (Vietnam); Kaysone Phomvihane (Laos); Oskar Fischer (G.D.R.); Tserengyin Gurbadam (Mongolia); Mitsuhiro Kaneko (Japan); Herbert Mies (F.R.G.); René Théodore (Haiti); Tawfiq Toubi (Israel); Gus Hall (U.S.A.); Hafez Assad (Syria); Habib Mangal (Afghanistan); Nadjib (Afghanistan); Noor Ahmad Noor (Afghanistan); Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua); José Eduardo dos Santos (Angola); Arjun Singh (India); Moussa Traore (Mali); Ibrahim Zakaria (WFTU); Alfred Nzo (ANC); Sam Nujoma (SWAPO); Nouri Abdel Razzak (AAPSO); Willy Brandt (F.R.G.); Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norway); Paavo Väyrynen (Finland); Rudolph Lubbers (Netherlands); Lukas Beckmann (F.R.G.); Pierre Mauroy (France); David Steel (Britain); Denis Healey (Britain); Hans Blix (IAEA).

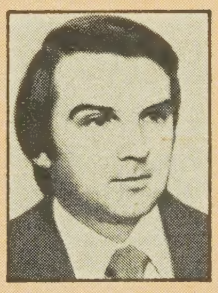
PRIZES HAVE BEEN AWARDED TO:



Publicist
Valentin Falin

Academician
Valery Legasov

Chilean publicist
Volodia Teitelboim



Journalists

Alexei Antipov **Grigory Arslanov** **Vyacheslav Boikov** **Vitaly Ganyushkin**

The editors would also like to thank the following foreign cultural personalities, scientists, businessmen, writers, and journalists for collaborating with our magazine:

Henri Alleg (France); Isaak Asimov (U.S.A.); Robert Gale (U.S.A.); Sakyo Komatsu (Japan); Gerhard Kade (West Berlin); Thomas Cochran (U.S.A.); Jean-Loup Chrétien (France); Jacques Louis Lions (France); Giulietta Masina (Italy); K.P. Misra (India); Zdenek Snitil (Czechoslovakia); Ted Turner (U.S.A.); Lodongyin Tudev (Mongolia); Peter Ustinov (Britain); Jaime Fuchs (Argentina); Armand Hammer (U.S.A.); Frank von Hippel (U.S.A.).

We would also like to thank **Alexei Arbatov, Georgi Bogemsky, Boris Bolotin, David Bronstein, Evgeny Bugrov, Nikolai Vukolov, Vasily Golovnin, Filip Gontar, Mikhail Gohberg, Vitaly Gusenkov, Nikita Yermakov, Yuri Zhukov, Vadim Zagladin, Pyotr Klimuk, Igor Kobzarev, Anatoly Krasikov, Andrei Kudryavtsev, Vladimir Kuznetsov, Vladlen Kuznetsov, Sergei Kulik, Anatoly Medvedenko, Yuri Samoilov, Lev Semeiko, Vitaly Sobolev, Victor Starodubov, Rais Tuzmukhamedov, Gherman Ustinov, Vladimir Shatalov and Nikolai Shishlin.**

The editors thank Soviet and foreign photographers and artists who took part in the International Year of Peace contest. The jury has awarded prizes and diplomas to:

Anatoly GARANIN and **Rudolf KHACHATRYAN** (U.S.S.R.), **Ram DHAMIJA** (India), **Le CU'O'NG** (Vietnam), **Charles RIVERS** (U.S.A.) and **Otakar STEMBERA** (Czechoslovakia).

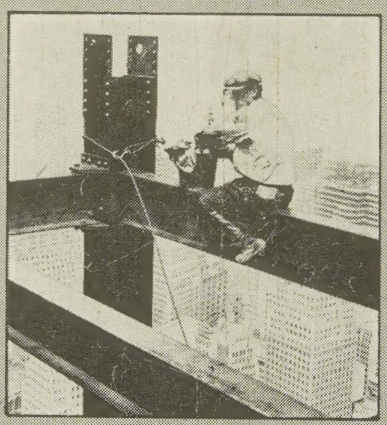
Anatoly Garanin
1941. The invasion

Otakar Stembera
Awakening Africa

Ram Dhamija
I am learning to write

Rudolf Khachatryan
Moscow Courtyard

Charles Rivers
A Self-Portrait



Le Cu'O'ng
Landscape

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST—MAN, HUMANISM, HUMANITY

The editors invite all professional and non-professional photographers and artists to enter its 1987 Man, Humanism, Humanity contest. Your picture stories and sketches (in colour or black-and-white but not less than 13×18 cm. in format), paintings or drawings may cover everyday life, the hopes, concerns, joys and problems of people and must be accompanied by a brief explanatory text, full name and address of entrant.

Please address entries to the editors of New Times, Pushkin Square, 103782 GSP, Moscow U.S.S.R. Do not forget to mark your envelope "Contest."

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ